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ESSAYS AND ADDRESSES

1900-1903

Essays & Addresses

1900-1903

BY

THE RIGHT HON. LORD AVEBURY

P.C.

(Sir John Lubbock, 1st Baron Avebury)

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I

HUXLEY'S LIFE AND WORK[1]

I ACCEPTED with pleasure the invitation of your Council to deliver the first Huxley lecture, not only on account of my affection and admiration for him and my long friendship, but it seemed also especially appropriate as I was associated with him in the foundation of this Society. He was President of the Ethnological Society, and when it was fused with the Anthropological we, many of us, felt that Huxley ought to be the first President of the new Institute. No one certainly did so more strongly than your first President, and I only accepted the honour when we found that it was impossible to secure him.

But the foundation of our Institute was only one of the occasions on which we worked together.

Like him, but, of course, far less effectively, from the date of the appearance of *The Origin of Species*, I stood by Darwin and did my best to fight the battle of truth against the torrent of ignorance and abuse which was directed against him. Sir

[1] The first "Huxley Memorial Lecture" of the Anthropological Institute, delivered on November 13, 1900.

J. Hooker and I stood by Huxley's side and spoke up for Natural Selection in the great Oxford debate of 1860. In the same year we became co-editors of the *Natural History Review.*

Another small society in which I was closely associated with Huxley for many years was the X Club. The other members were George Busk, secretary of the Linnean Society; Edward Frankland, President of the Chemical Society; T. A. Hirst, head of the Royal Naval College at Greenwich; Sir Joseph Hooker, and W. Spottiswoode, Presidents of the Royal Society; Herbert Spencer, and Tyndall. It was started in 1864, and nearly nineteen years passed before we had a single loss—that of Spottiswoode; but Hooker, Spencer, and I are now, alas! the only remaining members. We used to dine together once a month, except in July, August, and September. There were no papers or formal discussions, but the idea was to secure more frequent meetings of a few friends who were bound together by common interests and aims, and strong feelings of personal affection. It has never been formally dissolved, but the last meeting was in 1893.

In 1869 the Metaphysical Society, of which I shall have something more to say later on, was started.

From 1870 to 1875 I was sitting with Huxley on the late Duke of Devonshire's Commission on Scientific Instruction; we had innumerable meetings, and made many recommendations which are being by degrees adopted.

I had also the pleasure of spending some delightful holidays with him in Switzerland, in Brittany, and in various parts of England. Lastly, I sat by his side in the Sheldonian Theatre at the British Association meeting at Oxford during Lord Salisbury's address, to which I listened with all the more interest, knowing that he was to second the vote of thanks, and wondering how he would do it. At one passage we looked at one another, and he whispered to me, "Oh, my dear Lubbock, how I wish we were going to discuss the address in Section D instead of here!" Not, indeed, that he would have omitted any part of his speech, but there were other portions of the address which he would have been glad to have criticised.

I was in fact for many years in close and intimate association with him.

Huxley showed from early youth a determination, in the words of Jean Paul Richter, "to make the most that was possible out of the stuff," and this was a great deal, for the material was excellent. He took the wise advice to consume more oil than wine, and, what is better even than midnight oil, he made the most of the sweet morning air.

In his youth he was a voracious reader, and devoured everything he could lay his hands on, from the Bible to Hamilton's *Essay on the Philosophy of the Unconditioned.* He tells us of himself that when he was a mere boy he had a perverse tendency to think when he ought to have been playing.

Considering how pre-eminent he was as a

naturalist, it is rather surprising to hear, as he has himself told us, that his own desire was to be a mechanical engineer. "The only part," he said, "of my professional course which really and deeply interested me was physiology, which is the mechanical engineering of living machines; and notwithstanding that natural science has been my proper business, I am afraid there is very little of the genuine naturalist in me; I never collected anything, and species work was a burden to me. What I cared for was the architectural and engineering part of the business; the working out the wonderful unity of plan in the thousands and thousands of diverse living constructions, and the modifications of similar apparatus to serve diverse ends."

In 1846 Huxley was appointed naturalist to the expedition which was sent to the East under Captain Owen Stanley in the *Rattlesnake*, and good use indeed he made of his opportunities. It is really wonderful, as Sir M. Foster remarks in his excellent obituary notice in the Royal Society's *Proceedings*, how he could have accomplished so much under such difficulties.

"Working," says Sir Michael Foster, "amid a host of difficulties, in want of room, in want of light, seeking to unravel the intricacies of minute structure with a microscope lashed to secure steadiness, cramped within a tiny cabin, jostled by the tumult of a crowded ship's life, with the scantiest supply of books of reference, with no one at hand of whom he could take counsel on the problems opening

up before him, he gathered for himself during those four years a large mass of accurate, important, and, in most cases, novel observations, and illustrated them with skilful, pertinent drawings."

The truth is that Huxley was one of those all-round men who would have succeeded in almost any walk in life. In literature his wit, his power of clear description, and his admirable style, would certainly have placed him in the front rank.

He was as ready with his pencil as with his pen. Every one who attended his lectures will remember how admirably they were illustrated by his black-board sketches, and how the diagrams seemed to grow line by line almost of themselves. Drawing was, indeed, a joy to him, and when I have been sitting with him at Royal Commissions or on committees, he was constantly making comical sketches on scraps of paper or on blotting-books, which, though admirable, never seemed to distract his attention from the subject on hand.

Again, he was certainly one of the most effective speakers of the day. Eloquence is a great gift, although I am not sure that the country might not be better governed and more wisely led if the House of Commons and the country were less swayed by it. To its fortunate possessor, however, eloquence is of great value, and if circumstances had thrown Huxley into political life, no one can doubt that he would have taken high rank among our statesmen. Indeed, I believe his presence in the House of Commons would have been of inestimable value

to the country. Mr. Hutton, of the *Spectator*—no mean judge—has told us that in his judgment "an abler and more accomplished debater was not to be found even in the House of Commons." His speeches had the same quality, the same luminous style of exposition, with which his printed books have made all readers in America and England familiar. Yet they had even more. You could not listen to him without thinking more of the speaker than of his science, more of the solid, beautiful nature than of the intellectual gifts, more of his manly simplicity and sincerity than of all his knowledge and his long services. His Friday evening lectures at the Royal Institution rivalled those of Tyndall in their interest and brilliance, and were always keenly and justly popular. Yet he has told us that at first he had almost every fault a speaker could have. After his first Royal Institution lecture he received an anonymous letter recommending him never to try again, as, whatever else he might be fit for, it was certainly not for giving lectures. It is also said that after one of his first lectures, "On the Relations of Animals and Plants," at a suburban Athenæum, a general desire was expressed to the Council that they would never invite that young man to lecture again. Quite late in life he told me, and John Bright said the same thing, that he was always nervous when he rose to speak, though the feeling soon wore off when he warmed up to his subject.

No doubt easy listening on the part of the

audience means hard working and thinking on the part of the lecturer, and, whether for the cultivated audience at the Royal Institution or for one to working men, he spared himself no pains to make his lectures interesting and instructive. There used to be an impression that science was something up in the clouds, too remote from ordinary life, too abstruse, and too difficult to be interesting; or else, as Dickens ridiculed it in *Pickwick*, too trivial to be worthy of the time of an intellectual being.

Huxley was one of the foremost of those who brought our people to realise that science is of vital importance in our life, that it is more fascinating than a fairy tale, more brilliant than a novel, and that any one who neglects to follow the triumphant march of discovery,—so startling in its marvellous and unexpected surprises, so inspiring in its moral influence and its revelations of the beauties and wonders of the world in which we live and the universe of which we form an infinitesimal, but, to ourselves at any rate, an all important part,—is deliberately rejecting one of the greatest comforts and interests of life—one of the greatest gifts with which we have been endowed by Providence.

But there is a time for all things under the sun, and we cannot fully realise the profound interest and serious responsibilities of life unless we refresh the mind and allow the bow to unbend. Huxley was full of humour, which burst out on most unexpected occasions. I remember one instance during a paper on the habits of spiders. The female spider appears

to be one of the most unsociable, truculent, and bloodthirsty of her sex. Even under the influence of love she does but temporarily suspend her general hatred of all living beings. The courtship varies in character in different species, and is excessively quaint and curious; but at the close the thirst for blood, which has been temporarily overmastered by an even stronger passion, bursts out with irresistible fury, she attacks her lover, and, if he be not on the watch and does not succeed in making his escape, ends by destroying and sucking him dry. In moving a vote of thanks to the author, Huxley ended some interesting remarks by the observation that this closing scene was the most extraordinary form of marriage settlements of which he had ever heard.

He seemed also to draw out the wit of others. At the York "Jubilee" meeting of the British Association, he and I strolled down in the afternoon to the Minster. At the entrance we met Prof. H. J. Smith, who made a mock movement of surprise. Huxley said, "You seem surprised to see me here." "Well," said Smith hesitatingly, "not exactly, but I should have expected to have seen you on one of the pinnacles, you know."

His letters were full of fun. Speaking of Siena in one of his letters, contained in Mr. Leonard Huxley's excellent Life of his father, he says: "The town is the quaintest place imaginable, built of narrow streets on several hills to start with, and then apparently stirred up with a poker to prevent monotony of effect."

And again, writing from Florence :—

We had a morning at the Uffizi the other day, and came back with minds enlarged and backs broken. To-morrow we contemplate attacking the Pitti, and doubt not the result will be similar. By the end of the week our minds will probably be so large, and the small of the back so small, that we should probably break if we stayed any longer, so think it prudent to be off to Venice.

By degrees public duties and honours accumulated on him more and more. He was Secretary, and afterwards President, of the Royal Society, President of the Geological and of the Ethnological Societies, Hunterian Professor from 1863 to 1870, a Trustee of the British Museum, Dean of the Royal College of Science, President of the British Association, Inspector of Fisheries, Member of Senate of the University of London, Member of no less than ten Royal Commissions, in addition to which he gave many lectures at the Royal Institution and elsewhere, besides, of course, all those which formed a part of his official duties.

In 1892 he was made a Member of the Privy Council, an unwonted but generally welcome recognition of the services which science renders to the community.

He was elected a Fellow of the Royal Society in 1851. He received a Royal Medal in 1852, the Copley in 1888, and the Darwin Medal in 1894.

Apart from his professional and administrative duties, Huxley's work falls into three principal divisions — Natural Science, Education, and Metaphysics.

Scientific Work

Huxley's early papers do not appear to have in all cases at first received the consideration they deserved. The only important one which was published before his return was the one "On the Anatomy and Affinities of the Family of the Medusæ."

After his return, however, there appeared a rapid succession of valuable memoirs; the most important, probably, being those on Salpa and Pyrosoma, on Appendicularia and Doliolum, and on the Morphology of the Cephalous Mollusca.

In recognition of the value of these memoirs he was elected a Fellow of the Royal Society in 1851, and received a Royal Medal in 1852. Lord Rosse, in presenting it, said: "In these papers you have for the first time fully developed their (the Medusæ) structure, and laid the foundation of a rational theory for their classification." "In your second paper, 'On the Anatomy of Salpa and Pyrosoma,' the phenomena, etc., have received the most ingenious and elaborate elucidation, and have given rise to a process of reasoning the results of which can scarcely yet be anticipated, but must bear, in a very important degree, upon some of the most abstruse points of what may be called transcendental physiology."

A very interesting result of his work on the Hydrozoa was the generalisation that the two layers

in the bodies of Hydrozoa (Polyps and Sea Anemones), the ectoderm and the entoderm, correspond with the two primary germ layers of the higher animals. Again, though he did not discover or first define protoplasm, he took no small share in making its importance known, and in bringing naturalists to recognise it as the physical basis of life, and in demonstrating the unity of animal and plant protoplasm.

Among other important memoirs may be mentioned those "On the Teeth and the Corpuscula Tactus," "On the Tegumentary Organs," "Review of the Cell Theory," "On Aphis," and many others.

His palæontological work, for which he has told us that at first "he did not care," began in 1855. That "On the Anatomy and Affinities of the Genus Pterygotus" is still a classic; in another, "On the Structure of the Shields of Pteraspis," and in one "On Cephalaspis" in 1858, he for the first time clearly established their vertebrate character; his work "On Devonian Fishes" in 1861 threw quite a new light on their affinities; and amongst other later papers may be mentioned that "On Hyperodapedon," "On the Characters of the Pelvis," "On the Crayfish," and one botanical memoir, "On the Gentians," the outcome of one of his Swiss trips.

One of the most striking results of his palæontological work was the clear demonstration of the numerous and close affinities between Reptiles and Birds, the result of which is that they are now

regarded by many as forming together a separate group, the Sauropsida; while the Amphibia, long considered as Reptiles, were separated from them and united with Fishes under the title of Ichthyopsida. At the same time he showed that the Mammalia were not derived from the Sauropsida, but formed two diverging lines springing from a common ancestor. And besides this great generalisation, says the Royal Society obituary notice, "the importance of which, both from a classificatory and from an evolutional point of view, needs no comment, there came out of the same researches numerous lesser contributions to the advancement of morphological knowledge, including, among others, an attempt, in many respects successful, at a classification of birds."

In conjunction with Tyndall, he communicated to the *Philosophical Transactions* a memoir on glaciers, and his interest in philosophical geography was also shown in his popular treatise on physiography.

But it would be impossible here to go through all his contributions to science. The Royal Society Catalogue enumerates more than a hundred, every one of which, in the words of Prof. S. Parker, "contains some brilliant generalisation, some new and fruitful way of looking at the facts of science. The keenest morphological insight and inductive power are everywhere apparent; but the imagination is always kept well in hand, and there are none of those airy speculations—a liberal pound of theory to a bare ounce of fact—by which so many reputations have been made." Huxley never allowed his imagination

to run away with him, nor on the other hand his study of detail to prevent him from taking a wide general view.

I now come to his special work on Man.

In the *Origin of Species* Darwin did not directly apply his views to the case of Man. No doubt he assumed that the considerations which applied to the rest of the animal kingdom must apply to Man also, and I should have thought must have been clear to every one, had not Wallace been in some respects, much to my surprise, of a different opinion. At any rate, it required some courage to state this boldly, and much skill and knowledge to state it clearly.

He put it in a manner which was most conclusive, and showed, in Virchow's words, "that in respect of substance and structure Man and the lower animals are one. The fundamental correspondence of human organisation with that of animals is at present universally accepted."

This, I think, is too sweeping a proposition. It may be true for Germany, but it certainly is not true here. Many of our countrymen and countrywomen not only do not accept—they do not even understand —Darwin's theory. They seem to suppose him to have held that Man was descended from one of the living Apes. This, of course, is not so. Man is not descended from a Gorilla or an Orang-utang, but Man, the Gorilla, the Orang-utang, and other Anthropoid Apes are all descended from some far-away ancestor.

"A Pliocene Homo skeleton," Huxley said, "might analogically be expected to differ no more from that

of modern men than the *Œningen canis* from modern Canes, or Pliocene horses from modern horses. If so, he would most undoubtedly be a man—genus Homo—even if you made him a distinct species. For my part, I should by no means be astonished to find the genus Homo represented in the Miocene—say, the Neanderthal man, with rather smaller brain capacity, longer arms, and more movable great toe, but at most specifically different."

In his work *On Man's Place in Nature*, while referring to the other higher Quadrumana, Huxley dwelt principally on the chimpanzee and the gorilla, because, he said, "it is quite certain that the ape which most nearly approaches man in the totality of its organisation is either the chimpanzee or the gorilla."

This is no doubt the case at present; but the gibbons (Hylobates), while differing more in size, and modified in adaptation to their more skilful power of climbing, must also be considered, and, to judge from Prof. Dubois' remarkable discovery in Java of Pithecanthropus, which half the authorities have regarded as a small man, and half as a large gibbon, it is rather down to Hylobates than either to the chimpanzee or the gorilla that we shall have to trace the point where the line of our far-away ancestors will meet that of any existing genus of monkeys.

Huxley emphasised the fact that monkeys differ from one another in bodily structure as much or more than they do from man.

We have Haeckel's authority for the statement

that, "after Darwin had, in 1859, reconstructed this most important biological theory, and by his epoch-making theory of natural selection placed it on an entirely new foundation, Huxley was the first to extend it to man; and in 1863, in his celebrated three lectures on *Man's Place in Nature*, admirably worked out its most important developments."

The work was so well and carefully done that it stood the test of time, and writing many years afterwards Huxley was able to say, and to say truly, that "I was looking through *Man's Place in Nature* the other day; I do not think there is a word I need delete, nor anything I need add except in confirmation and extension of the doctrine there laid down. That is great good fortune for a book thirty years old, and one that a very shrewd friend of mine implored me not to publish, as it would certainly ruin all my prospects" (*Life of Prof. Huxley*, p. 344).

He has told us elsewhere (*Collected Essays*, vii. p. xi.) that "it has achieved the fate which is the euthanasia of a scientific work, of being inclosed among the rubble of the foundations of knowledge and forgotten." He has, however, himself saved it from the tomb, and built it into the walls of the temple of science, and it will still well repay the attention of the student.

For a poor man—I mean poor in money—as Huxley was all his life, to publish such a book at that time was a bold step. But the prophecy with which he concluded the work is coming true.

"After passion and prejudice have died away," he said, "the same result will attend the teachings of the naturalist respecting the great Alps and Andes of the living world—Man. Our reverence for the nobility of manhood will not be lessened by the knowledge that man is, in substance and in structure, one with the brutes; for he alone possesses the marvellous endowments of intelligible and rational speech, whereby, in the secular period of his existence, he has slowly accumulated and organised the experience which is almost wholly lost with the cessation of every individual life in other animals; so that now he stands raised upon it as on a mountain top—far above the level of his humble fellows, and transfigured from his grosser nature by reflecting here and there a ray from the infinite source of truth" (*Collected Essays*, vii. p. 155).

Another important research connected with the work of our Society was his investigation of the structure of the vertebrate skull. Owen had propounded a theory, and worked it out most ingeniously, that the skull was a complicated elaboration of the anterior part of the backbone; that it was gradually developed from a preconceived idea or archetype; that it was possible to make out a certain number of vertebræ, and even the separate parts of which they were composed.

Huxley maintained that the archetypal theory was erroneous; and that instead of being a modification of the anterior part of the primitive representative of the backbone, the skull is rather an independent

growth around and in front of it. Subsequent investigations have strengthened this view, which was now generally accepted. This lecture marked an epoch in vertebrate morphology, and the views he enunciated still hold the field.

One of the most interesting parts of Huxley's work, and one specially connected with our Society, was his study of the ethnology of the British Isles. It has also an important practical and political application, because the absurd idea that ethnologically the inhabitants of our islands form three nations—the English, Scotch, and Irish—has exercised a malignant effect on some of our statesmen, and is still not without influence on our politics. One of the strongest arguments put forward in favour of Home Rule used to be that the Irish were a "nation." In 1887 I attacked this view in some letters to the *Times*, subsequently published by Quaritch. Nothing is more certain than that there was not a Scot in Scotland till the seventh century; that the east of our island from John o' Groat's House to Kent is Teutonic; that the most important ethnological line, so far as there is one at all, is not the boundary between England and Scotland, but the north and south watershed which separates the east and west. In Ireland, again, the population is far from homogeneous. Huxley strongly supported the position I had taken up. "We have," he said, "as good evidence as can possibly be obtained on such subjects that the same elements have entered into the composition of the population in England, Scotland, and Ireland, and that the ethnic differences

between the three lie simply in the general and local proportions of these elements in each region. . . . The population of Cornwall and Devon has as much claim to the title of Celtic as that of Tipperary. . . . Undoubtedly there are four geographical regions, England, Scotland, Wales, and Ireland, and the people who live in them call themselves, and are called by others, the English, Scotch, Welsh, and Irish nations. It is also true that the inhabitants of the Isle of Man call themselves Manxmen, and are just as proud of their nationality as any other 'nationalities.'

. . . . . .

"But if we mean no more than this by 'nationality,' the term has no practical significance" (*The Races of the British Isles*, pp. 44, 45).

Surely it would be very desirable, especially when political arguments are based on the term, that we should come to some understanding as to what is meant by the word "nation." The English, Scotch, and Irish live under one Flag, one Queen, and one Parliament. If they are not one nation, what are they? What term are we to use—and some term is obviously required—to express and combine all three? For my part I submit that the correct terminology is to speak of Celtic race or Teutonic race, of the Irish people or the Scotch people; but that the people of England, Scotland, and Ireland—ay, and of the Colonies also—constitute one great nation.

As regards the races which have combined to form the nation, Huxley's view was that in Roman times the population of Britain comprised people of two

types—the one fair, the other dark. The dark people resembled the Aquitani and the Iberians; the fair people were like the Belgic Gauls (*Essays*, V. vii. p. 254). And he adds that "the only constituent stocks of that population, now, or at any other period about which we have evidence, are the dark whites, whom I have proposed to call 'Melanochroi,' and the fair whites or 'Xanthochroi.'"

He concludes (1) "That the Melanochroi and the Xanthochroi are two separate races in the biological sense of the word race; (2) that they have had the same general distribution as at present from the earliest times of which any record exists on the continent of Europe; (3) that the population of the British Islands is derived from them, and from them only."

It will, however, be observed that we have (1) a dark race and a fair race; (2) a large race and a small race; and (3) a round-headed race and a broad-headed race. But some of the fair race were large, some small; some have round heads, some long heads; some of the dark race again had long heads, some round ones. In fact, the question seems to me more complicated than Huxley supposed. The Mongoloid races extend now from China to Lapland; but in Huxley's opinion they never penetrated much farther west, and never reached our islands. "I am unable," he says, "to discover any ground for believing that a Lapp element has ever entered into the population of these islands." It is true that we have not, so far as I know, anything which amounts to proof. We know,

however, that all the other animals which are associated with the Lapps once inhabited Great Britain. Was man the only exception? I think not, more especially when we find, not only the animals of Lapland, but tools and weapons identical with those of the Lapps. I must not enlarge on this, and perhaps I may have an opportunity of laying my views on the subject more fully before the Society; but I may be allowed to indicate my own conclusion, namely, that the races to which Huxley refers are amongst the latest arrivals in our islands; that England was peopled long before its separation from the mainland, and that after the English Channel was formed, successive hordes of invaders made their way across the sea, they exterminated the men, or reduced them to slavery; but as they brought no women, or but few, with them, they married the women. Thus through their mothers our countrymen retain the strain of previous races, and hence perhaps we differ so much from the populations across the silver streak.

Summing up this side of Huxley's work, Sir M. Foster has truly said, that "Whatever bit of life he touched in his search, protozoan, polyp, mollusc, crustacean, fish, reptile, beast, and man—and there were few living things he did not touch—he shed light on it, and left his mark. There is not one, or hardly one, of the many things which he has written which may not be read again to-day with pleasure and with profit, and, not once or twice only in such a reading, it will be felt that the progress of science has given

to words written long ago a strength and meaning even greater than that which they seemed to have when first they were read."

Educational Work

In 1870 Huxley became a member of the first London School Board, and though his health compelled him to resign early in 1872, it would be difficult to exaggerate the value of the service he rendered to London, and indeed to the country generally.

The education and discipline which he recommended were :—

(1) Physical training and drill.

(2) Household work or domestic economy, especially for girls.

(3) The elementary laws of conduct.

(4) Intellectual training, reading, writing, and arithmetic, elementary science, music, and drawing.

He maintained that "no boy or girl should leave school without possessing a grasp of the general character of science, and without having been disciplined more or less in the methods of all sciences."

As regards the higher education, he was a strong advocate for science and modern languages, though without wishing to drop the classics.

Some years ago, for an article on higher education, I consulted a good many of the highest authorities on the number of hours per week which in their judgment should be given to the principal subjects. Huxley,

amongst others, kindly gave me his views. He suggested 10 hours for ancient languages and literature, 10 for modern languages and literature, 8 for arithmetic and mathematics, 8 for science, 2 for geography, and 2 for religious instruction.

For my own part I am firmly convinced that the amount of time devoted to classics has entirely failed in its object. The mind is like the body—it requires change. Mutton is excellent food; but mutton for breakfast, mutton for lunch, and mutton for dinner would soon make any one hate the sight of a sheep, and so Latin grammar before breakfast, Latin grammar before lunch, and Latin grammar before dinner is enough to make almost any one hate the sight of a classical author. Moreover, the classics, though an important part, are not the whole of education, and a classical scholar, however profound, if he knows no science, is but a half-educated man after all.

In fact, Huxley was no opponent of a classical education in the proper sense of the term, but he did protest against it in the sense in which it is usually employed—namely, as an education from which science is excluded, or represented only by a few random lectures.

He considered that specialisation should not begin till sixteen or seventeen. At present we begin in our Public School system to specialise at the very beginning, and to devote an overwhelming time to Latin and Greek, which, after all, the boys are not taught to speak. Huxley advocated the system adopted by the founders of the University of London,

and maintained to the present day[1] that no one should be given a degree who did not show some acquaintance with science and with at least one modern language.

"As for the so-called 'conflict of studies,'" he exclaims, "One might as well inquire which of the terms of a Rule of Three sum one ought to know in order to get a trustworthy result. Practical life is such a sum, in which your duty multiplied into your capacity, and divided by your circumstances, gives you the fourth term in the proportion, which is your deserts, with great accuracy" (*Life of Prof. Huxley*, p. 406).

"That man," he said, "I think, has had a liberal education, who has been so trained in youth that his body is the ready servant of his will, and does with ease and pleasure all the work that, as a mechanism, it is capable of; whose intellect is a clear, cold, logic engine, with all its parts of equal strength, and in smooth working order; ready, like a steam engine, to be turned to any kind of work, and spin the gossamers as well as forge the anchors of the mind; whose mind is stored with a knowledge of the great and fundamental truths of nature and the laws of her operations; one who, no stunted ascetic, is full of life and fire, but whose passions are trained to come to heel by a vigorous will, the servant of a tender conscience; who has learned to love all beauty, whether of nature or of art, to hate all vileness, and to respect others as himself."

[1] But unfortunately now abandoned.

He was also strongly of opinion that colleges should be places of research as well as of teaching.

"The modern university looks forward, and is a factory of new knowledge; its professors have to be at the top of the wave of progress. Research and criticism must be the breath of their nostrils; laboratory work the main business of the scientific student; books his main helpers."

Education has been advocated for many good reasons: by statesmen because all have votes, by Chambers of Commerce because ignorance makes bad workmen, by the clergy because it makes bad men, and all these are excellent reasons; but they may all be summed up in Huxley's words, that "the masses should be educated because they are men and women with unlimited capacities of being, doing, and suffering, and that it is as true now as ever it was that the people perish for lack of knowledge."

Huxley once complained to Tyndall, in joke, that the clergy seemed to let him say anything he liked, "while they attack me for a word or a phrase." But it was not always so.

Tyndall and I went, in the spring of 1874, to Naples to see an eruption of Vesuvius. At one side the edge of the crater shelved very gradually to the abyss, and, being anxious to obtain the best possible view, I went a little over the ridge. In the autumn Tyndall delivered his celebrated address to the British Association at Belfast. This was much admired, much read, but also much criticised, and one of the papers had an article on Huxley and Tyndall, praising

Huxley very much at Tyndall's expense, and ending with this delightful little bit of bathos:—"In conclusion, we do not know that we can better illustrate Prof. Tyndall's foolish recklessness, and the wise, practical character of Prof. Huxley, than by mentioning the simple fact that last spring, at the very moment when Prof. Tyndall foolishly entered the crater of Vesuvius during an eruption, Prof. Huxley, on the contrary, took a seat on the London School Board."

Tyndall, however, returned from Naples with fresh life and health, while the strain of the School Board told considerably on Huxley's health.

Huxley's attitude on the School Board with reference to Bible teaching came as a surprise to those who did not know him well. He supported Mr. W. H. Smith's motion in its favour, which indeed was voted for by all the members except six, three of whom were the Roman Catholics, who did not vote either way.

"I have been," he said, "seriously perplexed to know by what practical measures the religious feeling, which is the essential basis of conduct, was to be kept up, in the present utterly chaotic state of opinion on these matters, without the use of the Bible. Take the Bible as a whole; make the severest deductions which fair criticism can dictate for shortcomings and positive errors; eliminate, as a sensible lay-teacher would do if left to himself, all that it is not desirable for children to occupy themselves with; and there still remains in this old literature a vast residuum of

moral beauty and grandeur. And then consider the great historical fact that for three centuries this book has been woven into the life of all that is best and noblest in English history; that it has become the national epic of Britain, and is as familiar to noble and simple, from John o' Groat's House to Land's End, as Dante and Tasso were once to Italians; that it is written in the noblest and purest English, and abounds in exquisite beauties of mere literary form; and, finally, that it forbids the veriest hind who never left his village to be ignorant of the existence of other countries and other civilisations, and of a great past, stretching back to the furthest limits of the oldest nations in the world. By the study of what other book could children be so much humanised and made to feel that each figure in that vast historical procession fills, like themselves, but a momentary space in the interval between two eternities, and earns the blessings or the curses of all time, according to its effort to do good and hate evil, even as they also are earning their payment for their work?"

Metaphysics

Another remarkable side of Huxley's mind was his interest in and study of metaphysics. When the Metaphysical Society was started in 1869, there was some doubt among the promoters whether Huxley and Tyndall should be invited to join or not. Mr. Knowles was commissioned to come and consult me. I said at once that to draw the line at the opinions

which they were known to hold would, as it seemed to me, limit the field of discussion, and there would always be doubts as to when the forbidden region began; that I had understood there was to be perfect freedom, and that though Huxley's and Tyndall's views might be objectionable to others of our members, I would answer for it that there could be nothing in the form of expression of which any just complaint could be made.

The Society consisted of about forty members, and when we consider that they included Thompson, Archbishop of York, Ellicott, Bishop of Gloucester and Bristol, Dean Stanley, and Dean Alford as representatives of the Church of England; Cardinal Manning, Father Dalgairns, and W. G. Ward as Roman Catholics; among statesmen, Gladstone, the late Duke of Argyll, Lord Sherbrooke, Sir M. E. Grant Duff, John Morley, as well as Martineau, Tennyson, Browning, R. H. Hutton, W. Bagehot, Frederic Harrison, Leslie Stephen, Sir J. Stephen, Dr. Carpenter, Sir W. Gull, W. R. Greg, James Hinton, Shadworth Hodgson, Lord Arthur Russell, Sir Andrew Clark, Sir Alexander Grant, Mark Patteson, and W. K. Clifford, it will not be wondered that I looked forward to the meetings with the greatest interest. I experienced also one of the greatest surprises of my life. We all, I suppose, wondered who would be the first President. No doubt what happened was that Roman Catholics objected to Anglicans, Anglicans to Roman Catholics, both to Nonconformists; and the different schools of meta-

physics also presented difficulties, so that finally, to my amazement, I found myself the first President! The discussions were perfectly free, but perfectly friendly; and I quite agree with Mr. H. Sidgwick that Huxley was one of the foremost, keenest, and most interesting debaters, which, in such a company, is indeed no slight praise.

We dined together, then a paper was read, which had generally been circulated beforehand, and then it was freely discussed, the author responding at the close. Huxley contributed several papers, but his main contribution to the interest of the Society was his extraordinary ability and clearness in debate.

His metaphysical studies led to his work on Hume and his memoirs on the writings of Descartes.

One of his most interesting treatises is a criticism of Descartes' theory of animal automatism. Descartes was not only a great philosopher, but also a great naturalist, and we owe to him the definite allocation of all the phenomena of consciousness to the brain. This was a great step in science, but, just because Descartes' views have been so completely incorporated with everyday thought, few of us realise how recently it was supposed that the passions were seated in the apparatuses of organic life. Even now we speak of the heart rather than the brain in describing character.

Descartes, as is known, was much puzzled as to the function of one part of the brain—a small, pear-shaped body about the size of a nut, and known

as the pineal gland. It is very deeply seated in the brain, and the use being quite unknown, he suggested that it was the seat of the soul; but it is now regarded, and apparently on solid grounds, as the remains of the optic lobe of a central eye once possessed by our far-away ancestors, and still found in some animals—as, for instance, in certain lizards.

Descartes was much impressed by the movements which are independent of consciousness or volition, and known as reflex actions—such, for instance, as the winking of the eye or the movement of the leg if the sole of the foot is touched. This takes place equally if, by any injury to the spinal marrow, the sensation in the legs has been destroyed.

Such movements appear to be more frequent among lower animals, and Descartes supposed that all their movements might be thus accounted for—that they were, like the movements of sensitive plants, absolutely detached from consciousness or sensation, and that, in fact, animals were mere machines or automata, devoid not only of reason, but of any kind of consciousness.

It must be admitted that Descartes' arguments are not easy to disprove, and no doubt certain cases of disease or injury—as, for instance, that of the soldier described by Dr. Mesnet, who, as the result of a wound in the head, fell from time to time into a condition of unconsciousness, during which, however, he ate, drank, smoked, dressed and undressed, and even wrote — have supplied additional evidence in support of his views. Huxley, while fully admitting

this, came, and I think rightly, to the conclusion that the consciousness of which we feel certain in ourselves must have been evolved very gradually, and must therefore exist, though probably in a less degree, in other animals.

No one, indeed, I think, who has kept and studied pets, even if they be only ants and bees, can bring himself to regard them as mere machines.

The foundation of the Metaphysical Society led to the invention of the term "Agnostic."

"When I reached intellectual maturity," Huxley tells us, "and began to ask myself whether I was an atheist, a theist or a pantheist, a materialist or an idealist, a Christian or a freethinker, I found that the more I learned and reflected, the less ready was the answer; until, at last, I came to the conclusion that I had neither art nor part with any of these denominations except the last. The one thing in which most of these good people were agreed was the one thing in which I differed from them. They were quite sure they had attained a certain 'gnosis'—had, more or less successfully, solved the problem of existence; while I was quite sure I had not, and had a pretty strong conviction that the problem was insoluble. . . ."

These considerations pressed forcibly on him when he joined the Metaphysical Society.

"Every variety," he says, "of philosophical and theological opinion was represented there, and expressed itself with entire openness; most of my colleagues were 'ists' of one sort or another; and,

however kind and friendly they might be, I, the man without a rag or a habit to cover himself with, could not fail to have some of the uneasy feelings which must have beset the historical fox when, after leaving the trap, in which his tail remained, he presented himself to his normally elongated companions. So I took thought, and invented what I conceived to be the appropriate title of agnostic. It came into my head as suggestively antithetic to the gnostic of Church history, who professed to know so much about the very things of which I was ignorant; and I took the earliest opportunity of parading it at our Society, to show that I, too, had a tail like the other foxes."

Huxley denied that he was disposed to rank himself either as a fatalist, a materialist, or an atheist. "Not among fatalists, for I take the conception of necessity to have a logical, and not a physical, foundation; not among materialists, for I am utterly incapable of conceiving the existence of matter if there is no mind in which to picture that existence; not among atheists, for the problem of the ultimate cause of existence is one which seems to me to be hopelessly out of reach of my poor powers."

The late Duke of Argyll, in his interesting work on *The Philosophy of Belief*, makes a very curious attack on Huxley's consistency. He observes that scientific writers use "forms of expression as well as individual words, all of which are literally charged with teleological meaning. Men even who would rather avoid such language if they could, but who

are intent on giving the most complete and expressive description they can of the natural facts before them, find it wholly impossible to discharge this duty by any other means. Let us take as an example the work of describing organic structures in the science of biology. The standard treatise of Huxley on the *Elements of Comparative Anatomy* affords a remarkable example of this necessity, and of its results. . . .

"How unreasonable it is to set aside, or to explain away, the full meaning of such words as 'apparatuses' and 'plans,' comes out strongly when we analyse the preconceived assumptions which are supposed to be incompatible with the admission of it. . . .

"To continue the use of words because we are conscious that we cannot do without them, and then to regret or neglect any of their implications, is the highest crime we can commit against the only faculties which enable us to grasp the realities of the world." Is not this, however, to fall into the error of some Greek philosophers, and to regard language, not only as a means of communication, but as an instrument of research? We all speak of sunrise and sunset, but it is no proof that the sun goes round the earth. The Duke himself says elsewhere :—

"We speak of time as if it were an active agent in doing this, that, and the other. Yet we are quite conscious, when we choose to think of it, that when we speak of time in this sense we are really thinking and speaking, not of time itself, but of the various

physical forces which operate slowly and continuously in, or during, time. Apart from these forces, time does nothing."

This is, it seems to me, a complete reply to his own attack on Huxley's supposed inconsistency.

Theologians often seem to speak as if it were possible to believe something which one cannot understand, as if the belief were a matter of will, that there was some merit in believing what you cannot prove, and that if a statement of fact is put before you, you must either believe or disbelieve it. Huxley, on the other hand, like most men of science, demanded clear proof, or what seemed to him clear proof, before he accepted any conclusion; he would, I believe, have admitted that you might accept a statement which you could not explain, but would have maintained that it was impossible to believe what you did not understand; that in such a case the word "belief" was an unfortunate misnomer; that it was wrong, and not right, to profess to believe anything for which you knew that there was no sufficient evidence, and that if it is proved you cannot help believing it; that as regards many matters the true position was not one either of belief or of disbelief, but of suspense.

In science we know that though the edifice of fact is enormous, the fundamental problems are still beyond our grasp, and we must be content to suspend our judgment,—to adopt, in fact, the Scotch verdict of "not proven," so unfortunately ignored in our law as in our theology.

Faith, then, in the Bible sense, is a matter more of deeds, not of words, as St. Paul shows in the Epistle to the Hebrews. If you do not act on what you profess to believe, you do not really and in truth believe it. May I give an instance? The Fijians really believed in a future life; according to their creed, you rose in the next world exactly as you died here—young if you were young, old if you were old, strong if you were strong, deaf if you were deaf, and so on. Consequently it was important to die in the full possession of one's faculties, before the muscles had begun to lose their strength, the eye to grow dim, or the ear to wax hard of hearing. On this they acted. Every one had himself killed in the prime of life; and Captain Wilkes mentions that in one large town there was not a single person over forty years of age.

That I call faith. That is a real belief in a future life.

Huxley's views are indicated in the three touching lines by Mrs. Huxley, which are inscribed on his tombstone:—

> Be not afraid, ye wailing hearts that weep,
> For still He giveth His beloved sleep,
> And if an endless sleep He wills—so best.

That may be called unbelief, or a suspension of judgment, but it is not disbelief.

Huxley doubted. But disbelief is that of those who, no matter what they say, act as if there was no future life, as if this world was everything, and in the words of Baxter in *The Saints' Everlasting Rest*,

profess to believe in Heaven, and yet act as if it was to be "tolerated indeed rather than the flames of Hell, but not to be desired before the felicity of Earth."

Huxley was, indeed, by no means without definite beliefs. "I am," he said, "no optimist, but I have the firmest belief that the Divine Government (if we may use such a phrase to express the sum of the 'customs of matter') is wholly just. The more I know intimately of the lives of other men (to say nothing of my own), the more obvious it is to me that the wicked does not flourish nor is the righteous punished."

One of the great problems of the future is to clear away the cobwebs which the early and mediæval ecclesiastics, unavoidably ignorant of science, and with ideas of the world now known to be fundamentally erroneous, have spun round the teachings of Christ; and in this Huxley rendered good service. For instance, all over the world in early days lunatics were supposed to be possessed by evil spirits. That was the universal belief of the Jews, as of other nations, 2000 years ago, and one of Huxley's most remarkable controversies was with Mr. Gladstone and Dr. Wace with reference to the "man possessed with devils," which, we are told, were cast out and permitted to enter into a herd of swine. Some people thought that these three distinguished men might have occupied their time better than, as was said at the time, "in fighting over the Gaderene swine." But as Huxley observed: "The real issue is whether the men of the nineteenth century are

to adopt the demonology of the men of the first century as divinely revealed truth, or to reject it as degrading falsity."

And as the first duty of religion is to form the highest conception possible to the human mind of the Divine Nature, Huxley naturally considered that when a Prime Minister and a Doctor of Divinity propounded views showing so much ignorance of medical science, and so low a view of the Deity, it was time that a protest was made in the name, not only of science, but of religion.

Theologians themselves, indeed, admit the mystery of existence. "The wonderful world," says Canon Liddon, "in which we now pass this stage of our existence, whether the higher world of faith be open to our gaze or not, is a very temple of many and august mysteries. . . . Everywhere around you are evidences of the existence and movement of a mysterious power which you can neither see, nor touch, nor define, nor measure, nor understand."

One of Huxley's difficulties he has stated in the following words: "Infinite benevolence need not have invented pain and sorrow at all — infinite malevolence would very easily have deprived us of the large measure of content and happiness that falls to our lot."

This does not, I confess, strike me as conclusive. It seems an answer—if not perhaps quite complete, that if we are to have any freedom and responsibility, the possibility of evil follows necessarily. If two courses are open to us, there are two alternatives:

either the results are the same in either case, and then it does not matter what we do; or the one course must be wise and the other unwise. Huxley, indeed, said in another place:—"I protest that if some great power could agree to make me always think what is true, and do what is right, on condition of being turned into a sort of clock and wound up every morning before I got out of bed, I should instantly close with the offer. The only freedom I care about is the freedom to do right; the freedom to do wrong I am ready to part with on the cheapest terms to any one who will take it of me. But when the Materialists stray beyond the borders of their path, and talk about there being nothing else in the world but Matter and Forces and necessary laws, . . . I decline to follow them."

Huxley was no enemy to the existence of an Established Church.

"I could conceive," he said, "the existence of an Established Church which should be a blessing to the community. A Church in which, week by week, services should be devoted, not to the iteration of abstract propositions in theology, but to the setting before men's minds of an ideal of true, just, and pure living; a place in which those who are weary of the burden of daily cares should find a moment's rest in the contemplation of the higher life which is possible for all, though attained by so few; a place in which the man of strife and of business should have time to think how small, after all, are the rewards he covets compared with peace and charity. Depend

upon it, if such a Church existed, no one would seek to disestablish it."

It seems to me that he has here very nearly described the Church of Stanley, of Jowett, and of Kingsley.

Sir W. Flower justly observed that while, "if the term 'religious' be limited to acceptance of the formularies of one of the current creeds of the world, it cannot be applied to Huxley, still no one could be intimate with him without feeling that he possessed a deep reverence for 'whatsoever things are true, whatsoever things are honest, whatsoever things are just, whatsoever things are pure, whatsoever things are lovely, whatsoever things are of good report,' and an abhorrence of all that is the reverse of these; and that, although he found difficulty in expressing it in definite words, he had a pervading sense of adoration of the infinite, very much akin to the highest religion."

Lord Shaftesbury records that "Prof. Huxley has this definition of morality and religion: 'Teach a child what is wise—that is morality. Teach him what is wise and beautiful—that is religion!' Let no one henceforth despair of making things clear and of giving explanations!" (*Life and Works*, iii. 282).

I doubt, indeed, whether the debt which Religion owes to Science has yet been adequately acknowledged.

The real conflict—for conflict there has been and is—is not between Science and Religion, but between Science and Superstition. A disbelief in the good-

ness of God led to all the horrors of the Inquisition. Throughout the Middle Ages, and down almost to our own times, as Lecky has so powerfully shown, the dread of witchcraft hung like a black pall over Christianity. Even so great and good a man as Wesley believed in it. It is Science which has cleared away these dark clouds, and we can hardly fail to see that it is just in those countries where Science is most backward that Religion is less well understood; and in those where Science is most advanced that Religion is purest. The services which Science has rendered to Religion have not as yet, I think, received the recognition they deserve.

Many of us may think that Huxley carried his scepticism too far—that some conclusions which he doubted, seem, if not indeed proved, yet to stand on a securer basis than he supposed.

He approached the consideration of these awful problems, however, in no scoffing spirit, but with an earnest desire to arrive at the truth, and I am glad to acknowledge that this has been generously recognised by his opponents.

From his own point of view, Huxley was no opponent of religion, however fundamentally he might differ from the majority of clergymen. In Science we differ, but we are all seeking for truth, and we do not dream that any one is an enemy to "science."

In Theology, however—unfortunately, as we think—a different standard has been adopted. Theologians often, though no doubt there are many exceptions, regard a difference from themselves as an attack on

Religion, a suspension of judgment as an adverse verdict, and doubt as infidelity.

It is therefore only just to them to say that their obituary notices of Huxley were fair and even generous. When they treated him as a foe they did so, as a rule, in a spirit as honourable to them as it was to him.

The *Christian World*, for instance, in a very interesting obituary notice, truly observed that "if in Huxley's earlier years the average opinion of the churches had been as ready as it is now to accept the evolution of the Bible, it would not have been so startled by Darwin's theory of the evolution of man; and Darwin's greatest disciple would have enjoyed thirty years ago the respect and confidence and affection with which we came to regard him before we lost him."

Surely it is a striking and suggestive fact that both the retiring and the incoming Presidents of the Royal Society, by way of climax to their eulogies, dwelt on the religious side of Huxley's character. "If religion means strenuousness in doing right, and trying to do right, who," asked Lord Kelvin, "has earned the title of a religious man better than Huxley?" And similarly, Sir Joseph (now Lord) Lister, in emphasising Huxley's intellectual honesty, "his perfect truthfulness, his whole-hearted benevolence," felt impelled to adopt Lord Kelvin's word and celebrate "the religion that consists in the strenuous endeavour to be and do what is right."

Huxley was not only a great man, but a good and

a brave one. It required much courage to profess his opinions, and if he had consulted only his own interests he would not have done so; but we owe much to him for the inestimable freedom which we now enjoy.

When he was moved to wrath it was when he thought wrong was being done, the people were being misled, or truth was being unfairly attacked—as, for instance, in the celebrated discussion at Oxford. The statue in the Natural History Museum is very powerful and a very exact likeness, but it is like him when he was moved to righteous indignation. It is not Huxley as he was generally, as he was when he was teaching, or when in the company of friends. He was indeed one of the most warm-hearted and genial of men. Mr. Hutton, who sat with him on the Vivisection Commission, has recorded that, "considering he represented the physiologists on this Commission, I was much struck with his evident horror of anything like torture even for scientific ends." I do not, however, see why this should have surprised him, because the position of physiologists is that it is the anti-vivisectionists who would enormously increase the suffering in the world. To speak of inflicting pain "for scientific ends" is misleading. It is not for the mere acquisition of useless knowledge, but for the diminution of suffering, and because one experiment may prevent thousands of mistakes and save hundreds of lives. The medical profession may be mistaken in this, but it is obvious that their conviction, whether it be right or whether it be wrong,

is not only compatible with, but is inspired by, a horror of unnecessary suffering.

The great object of Huxley's labours was, in his own words, "to promote the increase of natural knowledge and to forward the application of scientific methods of investigation to all the problems of life." His family life was thoroughly happy. He was devoted to his children, and they to him. "The love our children show us," he said in one of his letters, "warms our old age better than the sun."

Nor can I conclude without saying a word about Mrs. Huxley, of whom her son justly says that she was "his help and stay for forty years, in his struggles ready to counsel, in adversity to comfort; the critic whose judgment he valued above almost any, and whose praise he cared most to win; his first care and his latest thought, the other self, whose union with him was a supreme example of mutual sincerity and devotion."

At a time of deep depression, and when his prospects looked most gloomy, he mentions a letter from Miss Heathorn as having given him "more comfort than anything for a long while. I wish to Heaven," he says, "it had reached me six months ago. It would have saved me a world of pain and error."

Huxley had two great objects in life, as he has himself told us. "There are," he said, "two things I really care about—one is the progress of scientific thought, and the other is the bettering of the condition of the masses of the people by bettering them

in the way of lifting themselves out of the misery which has hitherto been the lot of the majority of them. Posthumous fame is not particularly attractive to me, but, if I am to be remembered at all, I would rather it should be as 'a man who did his best to help the people' than by any other title."

It is not only because we, many of us, loved him as a friend, not only because we all of us recognise him as a great naturalist, but also because he was a great example to us, a man who did his best to benefit the people, that we are here to do honour to his memory to-day.

II

JOHN RUSKIN[1]

I ACCEPTED with pleasure the honour of the Presidency which you have been good enough to confer on me for several reasons, but especially because I was glad of the opportunity of expressing my admiration and affection for the great man in whose honour your association has been founded.

He was a friend for a great many years past; I am an intense admirer of his writings, especially of his great power of word painting—for he was as great an artist with the pen as with the pencil. I was warmly attached to him personally. His opinions were not always mine, but I think we agreed more often than not, and our differences never in any way formed a cloud or a shadow between us.

I remember, for instance, receiving a great shock when, some years ago, having ventured to draw up a list of a hundred books which I thought every one might read with advantage, I suddenly found two nights afterwards, in the *Pall Mall*, a criticism by Mr. Ruskin, condemning what he called "the rubbish

[1] Address as President of the Ruskin Society of Birmingham, October 21, 1902.

and poison" I recommended. But I confess to being somewhat relieved when, on looking through the books which he had struck out of my list, I found they included, amongst others, Marcus Aurelius, Aristotle, Confucius, Thomas à Kempis, Kingsley, Thackeray, Macaulay, and Emerson, so that I hope I had not done so much harm after all.

Another subject on which we entirely differed was on the relations of insects to flowers. Once when he was with us on a visit I endeavoured to convince him on the point, but only succeeded in making him rather unhappy, and left him entirely unconverted. Some time afterwards, however, in his volume of letters published as *Hortus Inclusus*, I was very much interested and rather pleased to find the following account of that discussion. "I have been made so miserable by Sir John Lubbock's views on flowers and insects, that I must come and whine with you. He says, and really as if he knew it, that insects, chiefly bees, entirely originate flowers; that all scent, colour, pretty form, is owing to bees; that flowers which insects do not care for have no scent, colour, nor honey. It seems to me, that it is likelier that the flowers which have no scent, colour, nor honey, don't get any attention from the bees. But the man really knows so much about it, and has tried so many pretty experiments, that he makes me miserable." I am very sorry that I made him miserable, but do not quite understand why he was so.

During the siege of Paris, as Ruskin mentions in *Fors Clavigera*, Cardinal Manning, Prof. Huxley,

Mr. Knowles, Ruskin, and I formed ourselves into a committee and prepared to send relief into the great city. When it seemed that the proper moment had arrived we approached the then Lord Mayor, and a representative committee was formed, under whose auspices large supplies were eventually forwarded.

Nor can I ever forget a memorable day spent with him many years ago at Avebury. He was not prepared for the wonder and interest of that classical spot, not having any idea that we possessed in this country so marvellous a monument, and his wonder and enthusiasm were delightful!

But I must not allow myself to wander further into personal reminiscences.

Ruskin's childhood does not seem to have been happy. It is true that his father and mother were most worthy people, and kind to him in their way, but they do not seem to have realised that children cannot be really happy unless love is shown as well as felt. "My parents were," he says, "visible powers of nature to me, no more loved than the sun and the moon; only I should have been annoyed and puzzled if either of them had gone out (how much, now, when both are darkened!)—still less did I love God; not that I had any quarrel with Him, or fear of Him; but simply found what people told me was His service, disagreeable; and what people told me was His book, not entertaining."[1] "I had nothing animate to care for, in a childish way, but myself, some nests of ants, which the gardener would never leave undis-

[1] *Fors*, v. p. 166.

turbed for me, and a sociable bird or two; though I never had the sense of perseverance to make one really tame."[1]

Nor does he appear to think that his health was very wisely watched. As he pathetically observes: "And if only then my father and mother had seen the real strengths and weaknesses of their little John,—if they had given me but a shaggy scrap of a Welsh pony, and left me in charge of a good Welsh guide, and of his wife, if I needed any coddling,—they would have made a man of me there and then, and afterwards the comfort of their hearts, and probably the first geologist of my time in Europe."[2]

Considering, however, how delicate he was, it is quite possible that his father and mother were right.

Nor did he get that knowledge of himself which boys acquire from one another, and which is one of the most valuable elements of a public school education. He was thrown back upon himself, without finding his own level, and, being clever, well-meaning, and with great powers of expression, he gradually developed the conviction, as he himself tells us, that he had "an instinct of impartial and reverent judgment, which fits me for the final work to which, if to anything, I am appointed."

This judgment, it is fair to admit,—this "impartial and reverent," but somewhat stern and severe judgment,—he exercises throughout his writings, with unswerving confidence; and as Mr. F. Harrison tells us in his admirable life of Ruskin, in the full per-

[1] *Fors*, v. p. 160.

[2] *Præterita*, i. p. 157.

suasion that he was always right and "everybody else was always wrong."

Though much interested in natural history, he had no great opinion of naturalists. "The only piece of natural history," he says, "worth the name in the English language, that I know of, is in the few lines of Milton on the Creation. The only example of a proper manner of contribution to natural history is in White's letters from Selborne."

In the seventh volume of *Fors*, p. 91, he quotes with approval a letter of Carlyle's, in which he says with contemptuous superiority, "A good sort of man is this Darwin, and well-meaning, but with very little intellect." Neither Carlyle, however, nor Ruskin seem to have ever rightly grasped the theory of Evolution. Ruskin says, for instance, "We might safely, even sufficiently, represent the general manner of conclusion in the Darwinian system by the statement that if you fasten a hair-brush to a mill-wheel, with the handle forward, so as to develop itself into a neck by moving always in the same direction, and within continual hearing of a steam-whistle, after a certain number of revolutions the hair-brush will fall in love with the whistle, they will marry, lay an egg, and the produce will be a nightingale."[1] This is an amusing skit, but Mr. Darwin would, I need not say, have been much astonished to find himself credited with such a theory.

Again, though he has criticised botanists with some severity, he admits that "I haven't the least

[1] *Love's Meinie*, p. 30.

idea, for instance, myself, what an oak blossom is like."[1]

On Political Economy he was especially severe. "I have told you, elsewhere, we are always first to study national character in the highest and purest examples. But if our knowledge is to be complete, we have to study also the special diseases of national character. And in exact opposition to the most solemn virtue of Scotland, the domestic truth and tenderness breathed in all Scottish song, you have this special disease and mortal cancer, this woody-fibriness, literally, of temper and thought: the consummation of which into pure lignite, or rather black Devil's charcoal—the sap of the birks of Aberfeldy become cinder, and the blessed juices of them, deadly gas—you may know in its pure blackness best in the work of the greatest of these ground-growing Scotchmen, Adam Smith."[2]

He would have entirely sympathised with Mr. Gladstone in the attempt to banish Political Economy to Jupiter and Saturn—a policy the results of which in Ireland have not yet been crowned with much success.

Turning from Science to Commerce, he instructs his pupils that "capitalists are many of them rogues, and most of them stupid persons, who have no idea of any object of human existence other than money-making, gambling, and champagne-bibbing."[3]

He is especially severe on what he calls "usury," by which he means not unduly high interest, but any interest at all. It is no question of degree; "the

[1] *Proserpina*, p. 75. [2] *Ibid.* p. 138. [3] *Fors*, vi. p. 205.

first farthing they take more than their hundred, be it sooner or later, is usury."[1]

Commerce, moreover, in his eyes is robbery and fraud. "Our merchants," he tells us, "say openly that no man can become rich by honest dealing."[2]

You who belong to a prosperous and energetic business community will, I am sure, agree with me that our merchants would say nothing of the kind.

Speaking of his own father, he says in his touching epitaph, "He was an entirely honest merchant, and his memory is to all who keep it, dear and hopeful." Ruskin would have been juster to English men of business, and, I am convinced, nearer to the truth, if he had been guided in his judgment more by his memory of his father and less by the melancholy, but happily exceptional, literature of the Bankruptcy Courts.

He pours scorn on the maxim that you should sell in the dearest, and buy in the cheapest, market; not realising that by doing so you sell to those most in need of your goods, and buy from those most in need of your money.

Ruskin seems to have been under the not uncommon impression that in business, if one man makes a profit, another must make a loss: that if one man lends money, and is the richer for receiving interest, the borrower must be impoverished by paying it.

You will, however, I think, agree with me that no

[1] *Fors*, vi. p. 247. [2] *Ibid.* vii. p. 5.

business can be permanent which is not advantageous to both buyer and seller.

Some men, no doubt, have enriched themselves, temporarily, by speculation or unfair dealing, but such persons almost always overreach, and, finally, ruin themselves, and I believe it to be very rare for any one to make a fortune for life except by fair and honest dealing.

Of railways he would make short work. "I should like," he says, "to destroy most of the railroads in England, and all the railroads in Wales." [1]

But railway directors must not complain. They form part, if not of a good, at any rate of a large company. Others are quite as severely, if not more severely, handled.

"Have the Arkwrights," he asks, "and the Stephensons then done nothing but harm? Nothing." That is surely very hard on the Stephensons and the Arkwrights. On the other hand, they are in no worse case than others, for he continues: "The root of all the mischief is not in Arkwrights or Stephensons, nor in rogues or mechanics. The great root of it is the crime of the squire." [2] . . . "The action of the squire for the last fifty years has been, broadly, to take the food from the ground of his estate, and carry it to London." [3] . . . This is all the worse, because "all the land in England was first taken by force, and is now kept by force." [4]

I share to some extent his views on education,

[1] *Fors*, i. p. 5.
[2] *Ibid.* iv. p. 173.
[3] *Ibid.* vii. p. 5.
[4] *Ibid.* vii. p. 5.

though they are, to say the least, somewhat vigorously expressed.

"Modern education," he tells us, "for the most part signifies giving people the faculty of thinking wrong on every conceivable subject of importance to them." Sir Walter Scott, he tells us, "had the blessing of a totally neglected education."[1]

"There is, indeed," he admits, "much difference in this respect between the tendencies of different branches of knowledge; it being a sure rule that exactly in proportion as they are inferior, nugatory, or limited in scope, their power of feeding pride is greater. Thus philology, logic, rhetoric, and the other sciences of the schools, being for the most part ridiculous and trifling, have so pestilent an effect upon those who are devoted to them, that their students cannot conceive of any other sciences than these, but fancy that all education ends in the knowledge of words: but the true and great sciences, more especially natural history, make men gentle and modest in proportion to the largeness of their apprehension and just perception of the infiniteness of the things they can never know."[2]

Political economists are classed with the Press, and he strongly condemns "the lies which, under the title of 'Political Economy,' have been taught by the ill-educated and mostly dishonest commercial men who at present govern the press of the country," while literary men, he affirms, "say anything they can get paid to say."[3]

[1] *S. and L.* p. 32. [2] *Stones of Venice*, p. 59. [3] *Loc. cit.* p. 205.

The clergy are, perhaps, most severely handled of all. They "preach as hirelings,"[1] and, what is worse, "as a body, teach a false gospel for hire." He does not make sufficient allowance for the difficulties inherited by the present generation, from their ancestors having endeavoured to reconcile the two Testaments—Judaism and Christianity.

Some of the difficulties indeed are inherent in language. Ruskin is not himself always consistent with himself.

Any one who took all Ruskin's sayings literally would soon become a puzzled, saddened, and suspicious man. But it would not be reasonable to do so. I sometimes think that every sect in Christendom could prove their tenets out of the Bible, if you omit to consider other passages. But the text must be taken with the context, the spirit is more important than the letter.

In Ruskin's writings the expressions are sometimes extravagant, the facts incorrect, the opinions contradictory; but the spirit is always true and noble: his counsels, as Mr. Collingwood says, were counsels of perfection; his warnings are in many cases just, and the more we take them to heart the better for us.

Moreover, against these severe and even harsh judgments may be set many other genial and generous passages. For instance, though, as we have seen, he has spoken very severely of scientific students, in another passage he protests nobly against the neglect

[1] *Fors*, v. p. 183.

and even cruelty with which scientific men were treated during the dark ages.

"The man who discovered the telescope, and first saw Heaven, was paid with a dungeon; the man who invented the microscope, and first saw Earth, died of starvation, driven from his home."

In one or two places he speaks somewhat severely of Professor Tyndall. These I will not quote, but elsewhere the writer says: "Let me, in thanking Professor Tyndall for the true wonder of this piece of work, ask his pardon, and that of all masters in physical science, for any words of mine, either in the following pages or elsewhere, that may ever seem to fail in the respect due to their great powers of thought."[1]

Again, speaking in one place of capitalists, he says: "Employers! It is a noble title. If, indeed, they have found you idle, and given you employment, wisely—let us no more call them 'Men' of Business: quite the best sort of Guardian Angel!"[2]

Again, he qualifies his previous statements as regards usury and rent, by saying: "All rent is usury, but it may often be right and wise to receive rent, and so long as our National Debt exists it is well that the good Saint (St. George) should buy as much stock of it as he can."[3] None of us can do more!

As regards usury, and the evil done by bankers, I was amused to find that he was himself the fortunate possessor of some thousands of pounds of

[1] *Queen of the Air*, vii. Preface. [2] *Fors*, i. p. 5. [3] *Ibid.* vii. p. 239.

Bank of England stock; so that I was able to claim him as a brother banker after all. He has, however, justified his position by saying: "I hold bank stock and I take the interest of it, because, though taking interest is in the abstract as wrong as war, the entire fabric of society is at present so connected with both usury and war, that it is not possible violently to withdraw, nor wisely to set an example of withdrawing, from either evil."

This position is not, it seems to me, quite logical. He says: "All interest is usury; but there is a vital difference between exacting the interest of an already contracted debt, and taking part in a business which consists in enabling new ones to be contracted. As a banker, I derange and corrupt the whole system of the commerce of the country; but as a stock-holder I merely buy the right to tax it annually—which, under present circumstances, I am entirely content to do."[1]

So that a private banker who works for his living is, in his view, "deranging and corrupting the whole system of commerce of the country," while the share-holder who sits at home and takes his dividends is open to no such criticism.

His dicta about land, however, are perhaps those which are most likely to be taken literally and seriously. By far the largest part of the land of England has been bought by the present owners and their ancestors. Their right to it is as good as any one's right to any other property. Ruskin himself

[1] *Fors*, vii. p. 236.

says: "The true answer, in this matter, as in all others, is the best. Some land has been bought; some, won by cultivation, but the greater part, in Europe, seized: originally by force of hand. You may think, in that case, you would be justified in trying to seize some yourselves, in the same way. If you could, you, and your children, would only hold it by the same title as its present holders. If it is a bad one, you had better not so hold it; if a good one, you had better let the present holders alone."[1]

In this answer I do not think he sufficiently dwells on the very large amount which the present owners hold by right of purchase.

He himself is one of the number. He bought his beautiful place at Brantwood, and the property in Marylebone, so admirably managed by Miss Hill.

Moreover, his ideal body, the St. George's Guild, were to hold land, which was to be let on lease, and the tenantry were to have no voice whatever "as to the use made of the rent."[2]

Ruskin, it is hardly necessary to say, was a strong advocate of freedom, or perhaps I should rather say, of deserving freedom. "Indeed, the first point we have all to determine is not how free we are, but what kind of creatures we are. It is of small importance to any of us whether we get liberty; but of the greatest that we deserve it. Whether we can win it, fate must determine; but that we will be worthy of it, we may ourselves determine; and the sorrowfullest

[1] *Fors*, i. p. 4. [2] *Ibid.* v. p. 277.

fate of all that we can suffer, is to have it, without deserving it."[1]

He did not, however, realise that freedom was incompatible with much Government interference.

His ideal of Government was that "the first duty of Government is to see that the people have food, fuel, and clothes,"[2] but a previous duty is to "see that every man has done his day's work before he gets his dinner!"[3] "And it is the duty of magistrates, and other persons in authority, but especially of all bishops, to know thoroughly the numbers, means of subsistence, and modes of life of the poorest persons in the community, and to be sure that they at least are virtuous and comfortable."[3]

In that case the number of magistrates must be greatly increased, and the bench of bishops must be lengthened! Some think that Government inspection is already carried quite far enough. A paternal Government makes a childish people.

I will not presume to criticise Ruskin's views on Art, but may say something with reference to his admiration of Nature.

The love of beauty was almost a religion with him, and he has certainly done much to educate others to enjoy it. He strongly opposes the statement by Schiller, in his letter on æsthetic culture, that the sense of beauty never furthered the performance of a single duty. "Although this gross and inconceivable falsity will hardly be accepted by

[1] *The Queen of the Air*, p. 181. [2] *Fors*, vi. p. 220.
[3] *Loc. cit.* p. 222.

any one in so many words, seeing that . . . it is not possible for a Christian man to walk across so much as a rod of the natural earth, with mind unagitated and rightly poised, without receiving strength and hope, from stone, flower, leaf, or sound."

"It is to be noted, also, that it ministered as much to luxury as to pride. Not to luxury of the eye; that is a holy luxury: Nature ministers to that in her painted meadows, and sculptured forests, and gilded heavens; the Gothic builder ministered to that in his twisted traceries, and deep-wrought foliage, and burning casements." [1]

From the same point of view he maintains that the use of the seed is to produce the flower; not that of the flower to produce the seed.

"But the flower is the end of the seed—not the seed of the flower. You are fond of cherries, perhaps; and think that the use of cherry blossom is to produce cherries. Not at all. The use of cherries is to produce cherry blossom; just as the use of bulbs is to produce hyacinths—not of hyacinths to produce bulbs." [2]

He even seemed to think that usefulness was fatal to beauty. "Thus, when we are told that the leaves of a plant are occupied in decomposing carbonic acid, or preparing oxygen for us, we begin to look upon it with some such indifference as upon a gasometer. It has become a machine; some of our sense of its happiness is gone; its emanation of inherent life is no longer pure. The bending trunk,

[1] *Stones of Venice*, p. 70. [2] *Proserpina*, p. 73.

waving to and fro in the wind above the waterfall, is beautiful because it is happy, though it is perfectly useless to us. The same trunk, hewn down and thrown across the stream, has lost its beauty. It serves as a bridge,—it has become useful; and its beauty is gone."

On such a question I would not venture to put my opinion against Ruskin's, but if usefulness is not an element in beauty, surely it is no flaw.

However this may be, to his love of beauty we are indebted for his exquisite descriptions of Nature. Mountains appear to have been his greatest delight. "To myself," he says in *Modern Painters*, "mountains are the beginning and the end of all natural scenery; in them, and in the forms of inferior landscape that lead to them, my affections are wholly bound up; and though I can look with happy admiration at the lowland flowers, and woods, and open skies, the happiness is tranquil and cold, like that of examining detached flowers in a conservatory, or reading a pleasant book." Mountains "seem to have been built for the human race, as at once their schools and cathedrals; full of treasures of illuminated manuscript for the scholar, kindly in simple lessons to the worker, quiet in pale cloisters for the thinker, glorious in holiness for the worshipper. And of these great cathedrals of the Earth, with their gates of rock, pavements of cloud, choirs of stream and stone, altars of snow, and vaults of purple traversed by the continued stars."

Of water he speaks with equal beauty and

enthusiasm. "Of all inorganic substances, acting in their own proper nature, and without assistance or combination, water is most wonderful. If we think of it as the source of all the changefulness and beauty which we have seen in the clouds; then as the instrument by which the earth we have contemplated was modelled into symmetry, and its crags chiselled into grace; then as, in the form of snow, it robes the mountains it has made, with that transcendent light which we could not have conceived if we had not seen; then as it exists in the foam of the torrent, in the iris which spans it, in the morning mist which rises from it, in the deep crystalline pools which mirror its hanging shore, in the broad lake and glancing river; finally, in that which is to all human minds the best emblem of unwearied, unconquerable power, the wild, various, fantastic, tameless unity of the sea; what shall we compare to this mighty, this universal element, for glory and for beauty? or how shall we follow its eternal cheerfulness of feeling? It is like trying to paint a soul."

I do not wonder at his impatience with technical descriptions of animals and plants. Vivid, however, as his own are, they would be useless for natural history purposes. Speaking, for instance, of the swallow, he says: "You can only rightly describe the bird by the resemblances and images of what it seems to have changed from—then adding the fantastic and beautiful contrast of the unimaginable change. It is an owl that has been trained by the Graces. It is a bat that loves the morning light. It

is the aerial reflection of a dolphin. It is the tender domestication of a trout."

This is charming, fairy-like, and fantastic. Knowing swallows as we do, we see the truth and beauty of the description, but if we had not seen the bird, I doubt whether the description would give us any idea of what it was like, and it would certainly not help us to identify it.

For its own purpose, however, it is admirable. Take again the following picture of the common house fly. "I believe that we can nowhere find a better type of a perfectly free creature than in the common house fly. Nor free only, but brave; and irreverent to a degree which I think no human republican could by any philosophy exalt himself to. There is no courtesy in him; he does not care whether it is king or clown whom he teases; and in every step of his swift mechanical march, and in every pause of his resolute observation, there is one and the same expression of perfect egotism, perfect independence and self-confidence, and conviction of the world's having been made for flies. Strike at him with your hand, and to him the mechanical fact and external aspect of the matter is what to you it would be if an acre of red clay, ten feet thick, tore itself up from the ground in one massive field, hovered over you in the air for a second, and came crashing down with an aim. . . . He steps out of the way of your hand, and alights on the back of it. You cannot terrify him, nor govern him, nor persuade him, nor convince him. He has his own positive opinion on all matters; not

an unwise one, usually, for his own end; and will ask no advice of yours. He has no work to do, no tyrannical instinct to obey. The earthworm has his digging; the bee her gathering and building; the spider her cunning network; the ant her treasury and accounts. All these are comparatively slaves, or people of vulgar business. But your fly, free in the air, free in the chamber—a black incarnation of caprice—wandering, investigating, flitting, flirting, feasting, at his will, . . . he rises with an angry republican buzz—what freedom is like his?"[1]

Or the following of a serpent:—"That rivulet of smooth silver—how does it flow, think you? It literally rows on the earth, with every scale for an oar; it bites the dust with the ridges of its body. Watch it when it moves slowly: a wave, but without a wind! a current, but with no fall! all the body moving at the same instant, yet some of it to one side, some to another, or some forward, and the rest of the coil backwards; but all with the same calm will and equal way—no contraction, no extension; one soundless, causeless march of sequent rings, and spectral procession of spotted dust, with dissolution in its fangs, dislocation in its coils. Startle it; the winding stream will become a twisted arrow; the wave of poisoned life will lash through the grass like a cast lance. It scarcely breathes with its one lung (the other shrivelled and abortive); it is passive to the sun and shade, and is cold or hot like a stone; yet 'it can out-climb the monkey, out-swim the fish,

[1] *The Queen of the Air*, p. 179.

out-leap the zebra, out-wrestle the athlete, and crush the tiger.' It is a divine hieroglyph of the demoniac power of the earth—of the entire earthly nature. As the bird is the clothed power of the air, so this is the clothed power of the dust; as the bird the symbol of the spirit of life, so this of the grasp and sting of death." [1]

None, however, is more charming than his picture of the squirrel: there is no animal "so beautiful, so happy, so wonderful, as the squirrel." "Innocent in all his ways, harmless in his food, playful as a kitten, but without cruelty, and surpassing the fantastic dexterity of the monkey, with the grace and the brightness of a bird, the little dark-eyed miracle of the forest glances from branch to branch more like a sunbeam than a living creature: it leaps, and darts, and twines, where it will (a chamois is slow to it, and a panther clumsy; grotesque as a gnome, gentle as a fairy, delicate as the silken plumes of the rush, beautiful and strong like the spiral of a fern); it haunts you, listens for you, hides from you, looks for you, loves you, as if the angel that walks with your children had made it himself for their heavenly plaything." [2]

I might quote many other delightful descriptions; as, for instance, that of the nightshade as a "primrose with a curse upon it," the comparison of the grape hyacinth of Southern Europe to a "cluster of grapes and a hive of honey distilled and compressed together into one small boss of celled and beaded blue," the

[1] *The Queen of the Air*, p. 87. [2] *Deucalion*, p. 235.

large Alpine gentian, "which makes the earth as much like heaven as it can."

In *Modern Painters* he says that "the greatest thing a human soul ever does in this world is to see something, and tell what it saw in a plain way." This he has himself done in a way which is plain and very beautiful. He has shown us many things which we might never have seen for ourselves, and for this we owe him a deep debt of gratitude.

But even more than for these glorious descriptions of scenery, these vivid pictures of animals and plants, we owe him a deep debt of gratitude for his lessons in charity, faith, and conduct.

"The strength of a nation does not depend on the extent of territory, nor on the number of people. The strength is in the men—in their unity and virtue."

"Our danger in life is, not death, but temptation."

"You do not learn that you may live; but live that you may learn."

"What we think, or what we know, or what we believe, is in the end of little consequence. The only thing of consequence is what we do."

"A true wife in her husband's house is his servant; it is in his heart that she is Queen."

"That rest which is indeed glorious is that of the chamois couched breathless on its granite bed, not of the stalled ox over its fodder."

"Joy should come from our own hearts."

"If for any rebuke that we utter of men's vices, we put forth a claim on their hearts, . . . there

would be fewer deaf children sitting in the market place."

"Whenever in any religious faith, dark or bright, we allow our minds to dwell upon the points in which we differ from other people, we are wrong, and in the devil's power." [1]

If ever disposed to speak harshly to those we love, it would be well to bear in mind his warning that "he who has once stood beside the grave, to look back on the companionship which has been for ever closed, feeling how impotent there are the wild love and the keen sorrow to give one instant's pleasure to the pulseless heart, or atone in the lowest measure to the departed spirit for the hour of unkindness, will scarcely for the future incur that debt to the heart which can only be discharged to the dust."

Some people seem to think that this world is necessarily a place of trouble and anxiety, of turmoil and unrest. But as Shakespeare well said—

> All places that the eye of Heaven visits
> Are, to the wise man, ports and happy havens.

That was also Ruskin's view. All men, he says, "may enjoy, though few can achieve." And in one of his most exquisite passages—with which I will conclude—he tells how we may secure peace, if we really care for it.

We complain, he says, "of the want of many things—we want votes, we want liberty, we want amusement, we want money. Which of us feels, or knows, that he wants peace?

[1] *Sesame and Lilies*, p. 170.

"There are two ways of getting it, if you want it.

"The first is wholly in your own power; to make yourselves nests of pleasant thoughts. . . . None of us yet know, for none of us have yet been taught in youth, what fairy palaces we may build of beautiful thought—proof against all adversity. Bright fancies, satisfied memories, noble histories, faithful sayings, treasure-houses of previous and restful thoughts; which care cannot disturb, nor pain make gloomy, nor poverty take away from us—houses built without hands, for our souls to live in."

III

RICHARD JEFFERIES[1]

Richard Jefferies was born the 6th November, fifty-four years ago, in the little hamlet of Coate. Sir Walter Besant, in his charming *Eulogy of Richard Jefferies*, has gently twitted Swindonians with being indifferent to the works of their native author. I do not know whether that could fairly be said when it was written, but at any rate it can be said no longer after to-day's ceremony. It is little more than fifty years since Jefferies was born, and

[1] At a meeting of the North Wilts Field and Camera Club, the then Mayor of Swindon (Ald. L. L. Morse) suggested to the members that they would do well to take in hand the work of raising funds and erecting a memorial in Swindon to the memory of Richard Jefferies, the great Wiltshire prose poet, who passed away, after years of suffering, in 1887. The happy idea was at once warmly taken up, and at the further suggestion of Mr. Morse it was resolved to invite subscriptions for the purpose of getting a memorial tablet affixed to the house, No. 22 Victoria Street, Swindon, where Jefferies lived from 1875 to 1877, and then, at a later date, when sufficient funds were in hand, to erect a similar tablet at the house where Jefferies was born at Coate.

A committee was formed, with Mr. H. Bottomley Knowles, M.A., as President, and Mr. T. C. Davison as the energetic Hon. Sec., and with the assistance of the President of the Club (Mr. N. Story Maskelyne), the work was heartily taken up and a ready response obtained to the appeal put forth. Permission was obtained from the owner (Mr. E. C. Boniface) and the tenant (Mr. W. Drew) of the house in question to erect the memorial, and the tablet, which is of Scotch grey granite, was prepared by Messrs. Saunders and Sainsbury.

Lord Avebury was invited by the Committee to unveil the memorial.

it is not twenty years since his first great book appeared. What seems to me really remarkable is, in the first place, how quickly, considering the nature of his work, his genius has been recognised, and, secondly, that he should have done so great an amount of work in so short a time, and under such unfavourable conditions. Jefferies' best work was all done in ten years, the last six of which were years of illness and suffering, almost torture. His boyhood was lonely, and if not actually unhappy, he had little of the brightness and joy of childhood. He was the son of a farmer, and though his parents were kind, and no doubt he imbibed in the atmosphere of home that close knowledge of country life to which he owed his great success, yet he never thought of adopting his father's occupation. What he saw and learnt while at home he put in his books, which we now read with so much delight. Jefferies read and thought, and took long walks. He has himself told us that "it was when he roamed the long rolling downs that he felt his life most full, his thoughts most clear, his spirit most exalted, and yet most at rest." Jefferies specially loved to sit by a certain barrow or tumulus on the Downs, and has some interesting pages on its history, and on the possible adventures and condition of the ancient chief who was buried in it. If Jefferies was lonely, it was not his fault, neither was it the fault of his family or his neighbours. He loved solitude. He did not work with his hands, but his brain was never idle. No one, however, could wonder that his

neighbours sometimes thought him lazy. He has told us that he had no intimate confidences, except with wild nature, his books, and his own soul. He had few human friends. Indeed, it has even been said that his first and only friendship was with the man in the tumulus! This, of course, was an exaggeration. His friends, if not numerous, were warmly attached to him. He was anything but lazy. If his hands were idle, his brain was hard at work, and his heart was full of sympathy. He had many gifts, amongst them being his great confidence in his powers and his destiny, though he did not at first recognise in which direction his strength lay. The first results of his boyish meditations were a series of novels, which, it must be admitted, were failures, and which would have discouraged any man with less energy and perseverance. They were generally declined by the publishers, and if he published them himself at his own expense, it was at a loss, because no one read them. Jefferies' first real success was a remarkable letter to *The Times*, which showed his close knowledge of country life. If he had followed this up energetically, it would probably have been all the better for him financially, though not probably as regards his ultimate reputation.

For in 1878 there appeared his *Gamekeeper at Home*, the first of a series which have steadily risen in popularity, and the very titles of which, well chosen and accurately describing the contents, were themselves charming. Among these I might men-

tion *Wild Life in a Southern County*, *The Amateur Poacher*, *Hodge and his Masters*, *Round about a great Estate*, *Nature near London*, *Red Deer*, *The Life of the Fields*, *The Open Air*, and *The Story of my Heart*. I hope one result of our meeting this day may be the introduction of these books to a larger circle of readers. These works, however, exquisite as they were, did not at first appeal to a large circle of readers, nor did they bring in any considerable pecuniary return. This was all the more unfortunate because in 1881 his health broke down, and he had to undergo a series of painful operations. Although his friends did all they could for him, he would not allow himself to be effectively helped. He absolutely refused any appeal to the public, or even recourse to the Literary Fund, assistance from which, he said, "humiliates the recipient beyond all bounds." We can all respect his independence and pride, however much we may deplore the result. But certainly a man producing such noble, though unremunerative, work, and stricken down by illness through no fault of his own, might well have accepted the assistance which I am confident his countrymen would gladly have given him, had they only been allowed to know how great was the need of it. This, however, he would not permit, though his nature was not proud in the ordinary sense of the word. His last years were spent in poverty and suffering, aggravated by anxiety of mind. It is sad to feel now, when it is too late, that if he had been able to rest, to spend a winter or two

in the sunny south, in the fresh air which he loved so much, he might still have been with us. For, after all, he would not have been sixty years of age even now. It was during his last years that his best work was accomplished—writings which gave one the impression of health and strength. Yet that splendid work was written in poverty, depression, and suffering. There was no wonder that notes of sadness cropped up now and again throughout his works, though it was more for others than himself, and it is pleasant to feel that he faced his sufferings and anxieties with courage and buoyancy, and really seemed to have enjoyed life. "The great sun," said Jefferies, "burning with light, the strong earth, the warm sky, the pure air, the thought of ocean, the inexpressible beauty of all, filled me with rapture." He spoke sometimes—indeed, who did not—from imperfect observation, and, it might be added, without sufficient consideration. There might be said to be two principal theories as regards the present condition of the universe: one referred it mainly to design, the other mainly to evolution. Jefferies unhesitatingly rejected both. Darwin, he said, "proceeds on assumption alone"—a statement which amazes me, and one which I should have much liked to have discussed with him. I may, for instance, quote the passage from *The Story of My Heart.* "Nothing," he said, "is evolved. There is no evolution any more than there is any design in Nature. By standing face to face with Nature, and not from books, I have convinced myself that there is no

design and no evolution. What there is, what was the cause, how and why, is not yet known. Certainly it was neither of these." Another question as to which I could not agree with Jefferies is his bitter condemnation of the Poor Law. He said, "Food and drink, roof and clothes, are the inalienable right of every child born into the light." Yes, certainly their moral right, but their legal right was given by the very Poor Law which Jefferies denounced. Further, Jefferies was very severe on the Charity Organisation Society, which I feel sure he would have approved of if he had understood it thoroughly, and known more of its operations. At the present time much money given in charity is too often appropriated and misappropriated by impostors. Considerable Associations have even been got up which were mainly, if not entirely, fraudulent. The objects of the Charity Organisation Society are to administer alms wisely, to prevent clever rogues from misappropriating funds which were intended to alleviate real distress, and to help men to help themselves, so as to make them less dependent and more independent.

Then, again, there has been a great deal of difference of opinion with regard to Jefferies' religious views. While full of reverential feeling, profoundly impressed by the great mystery of existence, and cordially recognising the great and noble work done by the clergy, "the practical Christianity of brotherhood and goodwill," as he expressed it in *Hodge and his Masters*, he (Jefferies),

like many others—more, perhaps, than is generally supposed — found himself unable to accept the current theological views. So difficult is this subject, and so profoundly different are the opinions entertained with reference to these great problems, that there is nothing with reference to which infinite charity is more urgently required, and yet there is no subject as to which it has been more absolutely, and more unfortunately, wanting. To judge from the discussions on the Education Bill, many of our countrymen assume as a self-evident truth that all religion must be dogmatic. Dean Stanley tells us that once, when he was Dean of Westminster, he endeavoured to prove to Lord Beaconsfield that a man might be very religious and yet withhold his judgment on dogmas. Lord Beaconsfield replied, "Oh, Mr. Dean, that is all very well, but you must remember—no dogmas, no Deans." If all the Deans were like Dean Stanley, I should be sorry to lose them, but we might give up a good deal of the dogma without any great disadvantage. For, after all, as a matter of fact, there is very little dogma in the New Testament, and none in the Sermon on the Mount." Unfortunately, as Jefferies thought, theologians had not been satisfied with the Sermon on the Mount, but thought they could improve upon it! Dr. A. K. H. Boyd, of St. Andrews, used to tell a story of a young minister who came one Sunday to assist him, and who had an objection to written prayers. Knowing, however, Dr. Boyd's admiration for our church service, he said,

"I am most anxious to conform in every way to your views, Dr. Boyd, but should you object to my commencing with an extempore prayer?" "Oh," said Boyd, "I generally begin with the Lord's Prayer. If you can give us anything better than that, pray do so." And the young curate replied, "Oh, thank you, then I certainly will!"

As Professor Jowett wisely said, "Theology is full of undefined terms which have distracted the human mind for ages. Mankind have reasoned from them, but not to them: they have drawn out the conclusions without proving the premises; they have asserted the premises without examining the terms. The passions of religious parties have been roused to the utmost about words of which they could have given no explanation, and which had really no distinct meaning." The church, however, is really a place for prayer and thanksgiving, not for argument and disputation. Jefferies was one of the continually increasing number of thinkers who realised that we had really no definite conception of many of the words which we continually use as if their meaning were self-evident. Time and space are familiar expressions, but directly we begin to think of them we lose ourselves. What are the boundaries of space? How did time begin? And how will it end? As long as we are not expected to express a reasoned opinion, we are satisfied, and wisely satisfied, to leave such questions alone. But a man like Jefferies, writing expressly on them, was bound to point out the difficulties. "There may be time for

the clock," said Jefferies, "the clock may make time for itself, but there is none for me. . . . Time has never existed, and never will; it is a purely artificial arrangement. It is eternity now, it always was eternity, and always will be. By no possible means could I get into time if I tried."

It is not always easy to feel sure what Jefferies' own view really was. In some places he spoke of Matter, Mind, and Soul as if they were three different things, but in another place he more accurately said that "natural things are known to us only under two conditions, viz. matter and force, or matter and motion." On many of these questions Jefferies was content to suspend his judgment. Nay, he went further. So far from wishing to lay down the law, he wisely advised us, "Never, never rest contented with any circle of ideas, but always be certain that a wider one is still possible." It has been suggested that towards the end of his life Jefferies modified his views on religion. We have been told that he died "listening with faith and love to the words contained in the Old Book." But he would have done that at any time. The Sermon on the Mount appeals to many who do not admit that there can be no religion except what is based on dogmatic theology. Doubt does not exclude faith.

> Perplext in faith, but pure in deeds,
> At last he beats his music out.
> There lives more faith in honest doubt,
> Believe me, than in half the creeds.

As Goethe said, metaphysics should come after

physics, and we must know much more about physical science before we can expect to make much progress in metaphysics. If Jefferies has not thrown much further light on these difficult problems, we must remember that his writings were at least very suggestive. To him, as he told us, "the sun was more than science; the hills than philosophy." Every man should be judged by his best work. Jefferies' strength lay in his power of minute observation, and of describing what he saw. Gilbert White, Ruskin, and Thoreau had the same great gifts, and few others can be compared to them. Jefferies resembled Thoreau in his love of solitary meditation: Ruskin in his love of beauty. "To be beautiful, and to be calm, without mental fear, is the ideal of nature. If I cannot achieve it, at least I can think it." "Might we not," says Sir Walter Besant, who himself possessed no mean portion of the same power, "say, indeed, that never any man has heretofore spoken of nature as this man speaks? He has given new colours to the field and hedge; he has filled them with a beauty which we never thought to find there; he has shown in them more riches, more variety, more fulness, more wisdom, more Divine order, than we common men ever looked for or dreamed of."

Jefferies loved his native Downs, but he loved woods and fields also.

Living as we do in a prosaic age, when, from the very necessities of the case, we are obliged to devote much of our time to the business and

ordinary avocations of life, we owe a deep debt of gratitude to men who, like Jefferies, carry us away into the country and teach us how to enjoy Nature. The exquisite beauty and delight of a fine summer's day in the country have never, perhaps, been more truly, and therefore more beautifully, described, than by Jefferies in his truly magnificent *Pageant of Summer*, which every one ought to read. "I linger," he says, "in the midst of the long grass, the luxury of the leaves, and the song in the very air. I seem as if I could feel all the glowing life the sunshine gives and the south wind calls to being. The endless grass, the endless leaves, the immense strength of the oak expanding, the unalloyed joy of finch and blackbird, from all of them I receive a little. . . . In the blackbird's melody one note is mine; in the dance of the leaf shadows the formed maze is for me, though the motion is theirs; the flowers with a thousand faces have collected the kisses of the morning. Feeling with them, I receive some at least of their fulness of life. Never could I have enough; never stay long enough. . . . The hours when the mind is absorbed by beauty are the only hours when we really live, so that the longer we can stay among these things so much the more is snatched from inevitable time. . . . These are the only hours that are not wasted—those hours that absorb the soul and fill it with beauty. This is real life, and all else is illusion, or mere endurance." I should have liked to call your attention to many other beautiful passages, but must resist the temptation. I am grateful to you for

giving me the pleasure of being present, and of expressing my warm admiration of your, may I say our, gifted neighbour, Richard Jefferies. We owe him much indeed; and in grateful recognition of his brilliant writings, his wise counsels, his beautiful descriptions of nature, and last, but not least, of the example of his gallant struggle against poverty and suffering, we have met to-day to dedicate this monument to his memory.

IV

MACAULAY CEREMONIAL[1]

We have met here to-day to do honour to a great, wise, and good Englishman. For such recognitions there are three excellent reasons. They are a just acknowledgment of what we owe to the dead, they are a satisfaction to the living, and let us hope that they will be an encouragement and a stimulus to our children.

Macaulay's father, Zachary Macaulay, was himself a remarkable man. He was one of those who contributed most to the abolition of the Slave Trade. At home he was an excellent husband and a kind father; but his love, though deep, was a well rather than a spring; his manner was cold and unsympathetic; but he commands our respect for his domestic virtues and his unselfish devotion to the great cause of freedom. To-day, however, we are perhaps more concerned with his mother. She was the daughter of a Bristol bookseller, who built the street still, I believe, known as Mills Place, and her brother for some time edited a Bristol paper. They were married on August 26, 1799.

[1] Bristol, April 21, 1903.

Lord Macaulay was born on October 25, 1800, at Rothby Temple in Leicestershire, but I may claim him as a Londoner, for his infancy was passed in Birchin Lane, which runs out of Lombard Street, and the only open space to which he could be taken for fresh air was the garden of the Drapers' Company, to which in after years he made many pilgrimages. Thence the family went to Clapham, where they remained till in 1818 they migrated to London. Even as a child books were his toys, and he was not contented to read only, but soon began to write, in which he was judiciously encouraged by his parents. His first schoolmaster was Mr. Greaves, from whom he was sent to a Mr. Preston at Little Shelford, near Cambridge.

When he was eighteen he went to Trinity College, Cambridge, and though Sir G. Trevelyan quotes a letter to his mother in which he expresses his "abomination of mathematics," and his longing to "change Cam for Isis," this was but a transient feeling, and Cambridge had no more loyal son. He went to his old University whenever he could, never left it willingly, and always returned with delight.

His intense enjoyment of university life perhaps somewhat interfered with what he might otherwise have secured in university honours. He twice, indeed, gained the Chancellor's medal for English verse, the prize for Latin declamation, and a Craven University Scholarship, but he did not throw himself into the regular course of study, and when the Tripos of 1822 made its appearance his name did not

occur—he was what is known as "gulphed." The triumphs of a college career are, however, as Sir G. Trevelyan justly observes, sometimes of less value than its failures. His disappointment, moreover, was only temporary, and two years later he was elected a Fellow of Trinity.

In 1826 he was called to the Bar, and joined the Northern Circuit, but he never seriously looked to the law as a profession. From a pecuniary point of view this did not seem necessary. In August 1825 the first of his great series of essays, that on Milton, appeared in the *Edinburgh Review*. The effect was instantaneous. Macaulay woke and found himself famous. He was also at once placed in a position of independence, though he wrote, not because his pockets were empty, but because his head was full.

The phenomenal popularity of the *Essays* is most satisfactory. Sir G. Trevelyan has told us in his admirable biography, that besides the great sale in this country, the publishers in the United States have issued "many thousands at a time, and in British India, and on the continent of Europe, these productions, which their author classed as ephemeral, are so greedily read and so constantly reproduced that, taking the world as a whole, there is probably never a moment when they are out of the hands of the compositor. The market for them in their native country is so steady, and apparently so inexhaustible, that it perceptibly falls and rises with the general prosperity of the nation; and it is hardly too much

to assert that the demand for Macaulay varies with the demand for coals." [1]

The Essay on James Mill struck Lord Lansdowne so much that he offered Macaulay a seat in Parliament for Calne, stating at the same time that he did not wish in any way to influence his votes. On this understanding, so honourable to both, he entered the House of Commons in 1830, and spoke for the first time on April 5, in favour of the removal of Jewish disabilities. In the following year he warmly approved, and made several admirable speeches in support of, the Reform Bill; he was appointed one of the Commissioners of the Board of Control, and when the Reform Bill became law, was elected for Leeds.

In the following year he went out to India as Legal Member of Council, and took the leading part in constructing the great Indian Law Code; returning in 1838. In one of his letters from India he says: "I often wonder what strange infatuation leads men who can do something better to squander their intellect, their health, their energy, on such subjects as those which most statesmen are engaged in pursuing. . . . That a man," he says, "before whom the two paths of literature and politics lie open, and who might hope for eminence in either, should choose politics and quit literature, seems to me madness. On the one side is health, leisure, peace of mind, the search after truth, and all the enjoyments of friendship and conversation. On the other side is almost certain

[1] Trevelyan's *Life of Macaulay*, ii. p. 127.

ruin to the constitution, constant labour, constant anxiety. Every friendship which a man may have becomes precarious as soon as he engages in politics. As to abuse, men soon become callous to it, but the discipline which makes them callous is very severe. And for what is it that a man who might, if he chose, rise and lie down at his own hour, engage in any study, enjoy any amusement, and visit any place, consents to make himself as much a prisoner as if he were within the rules of the Fleet?"

This, however, was written in India, and he adds, "What I might feel if I again saw Downing Street and Palace Yard is another question." The House of Commons must always have an intense attraction for any one of whom it can be said, as Trevelyan says of Macaulay, that his first sentence hushed the House into silence, and the first five minutes filled it to overflowing. Macaulay's very first speech, indeed, placed him in the first rank of orators. Moreover, the success was due more to the matter than to the manner.

Soon after his return a vacancy occurred for Edinburgh. He was invited to stand, was elected, and shortly afterwards joined the Whig Ministry as Secretary of State for War. The post was then comparatively easy, but it did not last long, for in 1841 the Ministry were turned out. Personally, this was not a matter of regret to Macaulay. Now he wrote to Napier: "Now I am free. I am independent. I am in Parliament, as honourably seated as man can be. My family is comfortably off.

I have leisure for literature; yet I am not reduced to the necessity of writing for money. If I had to choose a lot from all that there are in human life, I am not sure that I should prefer any to that which has fallen to me. I am sincerely and thoroughly contented."

In 1842 appeared the *Lays of Ancient Rome.* They were, as they deserved to be, a great success. Trevelyan tells us that 18,000 were sold in ten years, 40,000 in twenty, and that by 1875 upwards of 100,000 had passed into the hands of readers.

Macaulay was essentially a statesman, not a politician. He preferred not to be in office, and only accepted it as a duty. He felt he could, under most circumstances, be more useful as a private member, because he could be more independent.

"It is not necessary to my happiness that I should sit in Parliament; but it is necessary to my happiness that I should possess, in Parliament or out of Parliament, the consciousness of having done what is right."

In 1847 his independence lost him his seat for Edinburgh, and that same night he composed an exquisite little fairy poem on his own life. "The day," he says—

> The day of tumult, strife, defeat, was o'er.
> Worn out with toil, and noise, and scorn, and spleen,
> I slumbered, and in slumber saw once more
> A room in an old mansion, long unseen.

He fancied he was again lying in his cradle, and he pictures a succession of "the Fairy Queens who rule

our birth." The gorgeous Queen of Gain swept careless by: more scornful still the Queen of Fashion passed: the Queens of Power and of Pleasure were equally indifferent. But then came one, the last, the mightiest, and the best—

> Oh glorious lady, with the eyes of light,
> And laurels clustering round thy lofty brow,
> Who by the cradle's side didst watch that night,
> Warbling a sweet strange music, who wast thou?
>
> "Yes, darling; let them go," so ran the strain;
> "Yes, let them go, gain, fashion, pleasure, power,
> And all the busy elves to whose domain
> Belongs the nether sphere, the fleeting hour.
>
> "Without one envious sigh, one anxious scheme,
> The nether sphere, the fleeting hour resign.
> Mine is the world of thought, the world of dream,
> Mine all the past, and all the future mine.

The decision of the Edinburgh electors was a greater loss to Parliament than to Macaulay. He thoroughly appreciated his leisure, and enjoyed the most delightful society in London. He was working hard at his *History*. As it went on he read it aloud in the evenings to his sister and Sir C. Trevelyan, his brother-in-law, and mentions with triumph that "Hannah cried and Trevelyan kept awake." The first volume was issued in 1848. The success was great and immediate. It is said that there had been no such sale since the publication of Waterloo. Thirteen thousand copies were sold in six months.

Some of the marks of admiration which he received were very amusing. Hotel-keepers, we are told, often sent him up a better dinner than he had ordered, and declined payment!

The first hippopotamus ever seen in England since our predecessors hunted them in prehistoric times was brought over in 1850, and, like every one else, he went to see it. Thackeray tells us that two girls were just at the door when some one mentioned that Macaulay was in the gardens. "Oh, come back," said one of them, "come and see Mr. Macaulay; never mind the hippopotamus!" He seems, indeed, to have succeeded in the object of his ambition, to "produce something which shall for a few days supersede the last fashionable novel on tables of young ladies."

Men have disputed, says Sir G. Trevelyan, and "will long continue to dispute, whether or not his fame was deserved"; but no one who himself has written books will doubt that at any rate it was hardly earned. "Take at hazard," says Thackeray, "any three pages of the *Essays* or *History*, and, glimmering below the stream of the narrative, you, an average reader, see one, two, three, a half-score of allusions to other historic facts, characters, literature, poetry, with which you are acquainted, . . . indicating, not only the prodigious memory and vast learning of this master, but the wonderful industry, the honest, humble previous toil of this great scholar. He reads twenty books to write a sentence; he travels a hundred miles to make a line of description."[1]

But though Macaulay spared himself no pains in preparing his work, he was ready and quick enough on an emergency. During one of the Cambridge elections a man made a bad shot with a dead cat, and

[1] *Life of Macaulay*, ii. pp. 219, 231.

hit him in the face. The man apologised and asked to be excused because the unsavoury missile had been intended for Mr. Adeane. "I wish, however," said Macaulay, "you had meant it for me and hit Mr. Adeane."

In 1852 there was another general election. Edinburgh had repented of its mistake of 1847, and there was a general wish that Macaulay should stand again. He declined to go down, to issue any address, to make any speech, or answer any questions; but to his great honour, and that of Edinburgh also, he was returned at the head of the poll.

All over the country, says Mr. Arnold in his *Life*, "the news of his election was received with a burst of joy. Men congratulated each other as if some dear friend or relation of their own had received so signal an honour. People who had never seen his face shook hands with one another in an unreasoning way on the receipt of such glorious news."

Unfortunately his health now began to fail, and he cannot, indeed, be said to have been ever well again, though he worked hard at his *History*, and made some very effective speeches in the House of Commons. The subsequent volumes of his *History* were even more successful than the first.

In 1856 he found it necessary to resign his seat for Edinburgh, and in 1857 he was given a peerage, to the general satisfaction of the country.

His health gradually declined, and the last public business to which he devoted himself was the trusteeship of the British Museum.

In 1859 Sir C. Trevelyan was appointed Governor of Madras, and Lady Trevelyan was to follow him in the spring of 1860. Devotedly attached to his sister as he had always been, this was a great blow to him. In December he became rapidly worse, and on the 28th died peacefully and without suffering in his library, sitting in his usual chair and with a book open before him. He left, as Sir G. Trevelyan justly says, "a great and honourable name, and the memory of a life every action of which was as clear and trans parent as one of his own sentences." He was buried in Westminster Abbey, in Poets' Corner, near Johnson and Goldsmith, Gay and Addison, and as his epitaph says,

His name liveth for evermore.

Macaulay was not only a great man, an eloquent orator, a charming writer, but he was also a delightful companion.

"While on a visit to Lord Lansdowne at Bowood, years after they had left Cambridge, Austin and Macaulay happened to get upon college topics one morning at breakfast. When the meal was finished they drew their chairs to either end of the chimney-piece, and talked at each other across the hearth-rug as if they were in a first-floor room in the old court of Trinity. The whole company, ladies, artists, politicians, and diners-out, formed a silent circle round the two Cantabs, and, with a short break for lunch, never stirred till the bell warned them that it was time to dress for dinner." [1]

[1] Trevelyan's *Life and Letters of Macaulay*, i. p. 81.

In later life he even improved. Sydney Smith said that "he is certainly more agreeable since his return from India. His enemies might perhaps have said before (though I never did so) that he talked rather too much; but now he has occasional flashes of silence that make his conversation perfectly delightful."

Though Macaulay lived in the centre of the literary and political world, and took an active part in the stress and turmoil of London life, he may also be said to have enjoyed a peaceful existence. La Bruyère has said that many men spend much of their time in making the rest miserable. Macaulay had his own sorrows, as all must, but he brought none on himself. We may say of him, as he himself said of Sir James Mackintosh, that "the rare moderation and calmness of his temper preserved him alike from extravagant elation and from extravagant despondency."[1]

The calm and even tenor of his life is well illustrated by the fact that one of his greatest troubles arose from a trifling circumstance which in most lives would have passed almost unnoticed. It so happened that when he took office in 1839 he was on a short visit to Her Majesty at Windsor Castle, and having to address his constituents, he thoughtlessly, but not unnaturally, used a sheet of the Castle paper. This brought on him not merely much good-natured chaff, but also many absurdly savage attacks. Of course it was not the banter nor the abuse which rankled—he had been much more bitterly reviled

[1] *Essays*, ii. p. 431.

about other matters, but, as he felt, unjustly. In this case he recognised that he had slipped into a mistake, and years afterwards he says he still felt "a twinge at the name. Was ever man so persecuted for such a trifle! Yet my life must be allowed to have been a very happy one, seeing that such a persecution was among my greatest misfortunes." It must indeed. And he well deserved to be happy. He had indeed all that wealth and fame, rank and talents, can give, and yet he tells us he derived his greatest happiness from books.

"These are the old friends who are never seen with new faces, who are the same in wealth and in poverty, in glory and in obscurity. With the dead there is no rivalry. In the dead there is no change. Plato is never sullen. Cervantes is never petulant. Demosthenes never comes unseasonably. Dante never stays too long. No difference of political opinion can alienate Cicero. No heresy can excite the horror of Bossuet."[1]

I cannot say that my favourite authors are in all cases the same as his. Next to Shakespeare he places Miss Austen. I should prefer Scott. For Plutarch he "entertains a peculiar aversion." The heroes of Livy, he says, "are the most insipid of all beings, real or imaginary, the heroes of Plutarch always excepted." Seneca he speaks of as "an affected, empty scribbler"; reading him, he says, is like "dining on anchovy sauce." While strongly condemning the plays of Wycherley and Congreve, he

[1] *Essays*, ii. p. 498, on Lord Bacon.

yet approved of their being reprinted (iii. 336). He denies that Herodotus, "the father of history," has any claim to be regarded as a historian at all. "He has written an incomparable book. He has written something better perhaps than the best history; but he has not written a good history; he is from the first to the last chapter an inventor. . . . The great events are, no doubt, faithfully related. So probably are many of the slighter circumstances, but which of them it is impossible to ascertain. The fictions are so much like the facts, and the facts so much like the fictions, that, with respect to many most interesting particulars, our belief is neither given nor withheld, but remains in an uneasy and interminable state of abeyance. We know that there is truth; but we cannot exactly decide where it lies."[1]

Though it is scarcely fifty years since Macaulay's death, it is curious how much our ideas have changed. For instance, he says: "Nothing is more natural than that, in a monarchy where a constitutional opposition exists, the heir-apparent of the throne should put himself at the head of that opposition. He is impelled to such a course by every feeling of ambition and of vanity. He cannot be more than second in the estimation of the party which is in. He is sure to be the first member of the party which is out. The highest favour which the existing administration can expect from him is that he will not discard them. . . . An heir-apparent,

[1] *Essays*, i. p. 170.

therefore, who wishes to enjoy, in the highest perfection, all the pleasure that can be derived from eloquent flattery and profound respect, will always join those who are struggling to force themselves into power." [1]

"Macaulay's outward man was," says Sir G. Trevelyan, "never better described than in two sentences of Praed's Introduction to *Knight's Quarterly Magazine*. 'There came up a short, manly figure, marvellously upright, with a bad neckcloth, and one hand in his waistcoat pocket. Of regular beauty he had little to boast; but in faces where there is an expression of great power or of great good-humour, or both, you do not regret its absence.' This picture, in which every touch is correct, tells all that there is to be told. He had a massive head, and features of a powerful and rugged cast, but so constantly lit up by every joyful and ennobling emotion that it mattered little if, when absolutely quiescent, his face was rather homely than handsome." [2]

And he has elsewhere been described as "knitting his great eyebrows if the subject was one which had to be thought out as he went along, or brightening from the forehead downwards when a burst of humour was coming; his massive features and honest glance suited well with the manly, sagacious sentiments which he set forth in his pleasant, sonorous voice, and his racy and admirably intelligible language." [3]

[1] *Essays*, ii. p. 373. [2] Trevelyan's *Life of Macaulay*, i. 122.
[3] *Ibid.* ii. p. 204.

It seems to me that no man could be described as truly great who was cruel or mean, vain or irritable. Macaulay was none of these.

As Mr. Cotter Morison says: "In his own home —as a son, as a brother, and an uncle—it is only the barest justice to say that he appears to have touched the furthest verge of human virtue, sweetness, and generosity."[1]

As a statesman he was wise and cautious, consistent and independent. He was great as a statesman, historian, and poet, and good as a man.

The more we study his writings, the more we take to heart his wise counsels; the more we copy his blameless life and follow his excellent example, the better it will be for us and for those around us.

[1] C. Morison's *Macaulay*, p. 18.

V

MANCHESTER PUBLIC LIBRARY JUBILEE[1]

I FEEL it a very great honour to have been invited to take a part on this important and interesting occasion, and am the more sensible of it when I remember the illustrious men—Thackeray, Dickens, Bulwer Lytton, John Bright, Monckton Milnes, Sir James Stephen, and others — who attended the ceremony fifty years ago, the Jubilee of which we are now celebrating.

If I make an appeal for your indulgence, it will not surprise those who remember that Thackeray himself on that occasion was so nervous that he actually broke down, appalled, as Mr. Edwards suggests, by the sight of 20,000 books, but rather, I think, by the great audience before him. There are other names, however, more closely associated with the library movement in Manchester even than those of Thackeray, Dickens, and Bulwer Lytton. First and foremost, it is fitting that we should do honour to William Ewart, member for Liverpool, to whom we owe the Public Libraries Act, which has

[1] Speech in the Free Trade Hall, Manchester, April 3, 1903, as Chairman of the meeting to celebrate the Jubilee of the Manchester Public Library.

done so much for the education, the happiness, and the moral improvement of our people; to whom we owe it that we have now public houses, not for the sale of beer, but for the free use of books. And secondly, we recall with gratitude Sir John Potter, Chairman of your first Library Committee, Mayor of Manchester, and son of a Mayor of Manchester; to whose energy and foresight you owe it that Manchester has the honour of having taken the lead in the movement. Other names connected with the recent history of public libraries will occur to us all—for instance, Edward Edwards, Thomas Greenwood, Passmore Edwards, Carnegie, and Mr. Rylands.

Manchester had the first of the great public libraries now happily spread so widely over the length and breadth of the land. The good example you set was at first but slowly followed. The Act passed in 1850. It is not easy to ascertain the exact figures, but by

1870	about	50	places	had	adopted	the Act.
1880	„	100	„		„	„
1890	„	200	„		„	„
Now	„	450	„	have	„	„

Not only have the libraries increased in number, but they have also increased in size. The number of books has risen much more rapidly than the population.

In 1851 the population of Manchester was .	308,000
1901 it was	540,000

A great increase, but not double. How about your libraries?

In 1852 the number of books was .	23,000
„ 1862 it was	60,000
„ 1872 „	119,000
„ 1882 „	160,000
„ 1892 „	233,000
„ 1902 „	305,000

So that while the population has not doubled, the books have increased more than tenfold.

The total number of books in rate-supported libraries is now more than 6,500,000. It may be interesting to add that if we include other public libraries the number is raised to 18,500,000.

Then, again, the books are more used. The number issued in

1852-3 was	138,000
1872-3 „	785,000
1892-3 „ . . .	1,712,000
1902-3 „ . . .	2,295,000

I remember hearing a story many years ago of a Manchester woman who was taken to Southport. When she saw the sea she was delighted. She said it was the first time in her life she had ever seen anything of which there was enough for everybody. I have somewhat the same feeling when I look round at these shelves. No doubt you will add many more books, but even now there are more than any one of you will ever read. Not only will you not do so, but every year you would find that you were being more and more left behind. Your library began

with 23,000 volumes: it now contains over 300,000. Reading, indeed, is a pleasure as to which wealth gives scarcely any advantage. Oliver Wendell Holmes wittily says—

> I care not much for gold or land;
> Give me a mortgage here and there,
> Some good bank stock—some note of hand
> Or trifling railway share.
> I only ask that Fortune send
> A little more than I can spend.

But no one can read all the books in a public library. In this respect Fortune showers upon us more than we can possibly use. You have admirable schools for the young in Manchester, and these libraries are schools for the grown-up.

There are still some who object to public libraries on account of the expense. But I think they make a mistake, even from their own point of view, and that public libraries tend to lighten, not to raise, rates. You know that the most that can be spent on a public library is 1d. in the £. But I believe they have saved us much more. Ignorance costs a country more than education. Out of every 100 persons who go to prison, not above 5 can be called fairly well educated.

In 1870 our paupers were 46 in the 1000, now they are 22 in the 1000. In 1850 our population was under 20,000,000. Now it is over 40,000,000. But the number of persons prosecuted for indictable offences was 14,000, now it is 5000. The number of persons in prison was about 30,000, now they are

less than one-half. Then there were over 100 prisons, all full, now there are about 50, half empty. Victor Hugo said: "He who opens a school closes a prison." I do not say that this is all due to education, or to public libraries, but I cannot doubt that they have contributed to it. The fact is, that only a fraction of the crime of the country arises from irresistible temptation or deliberate wickedness; the great sources are drink and ignorance. Drink, again, is often due to dulness and the craving for excitement. Books, however, are exciting without being intoxicating: with a choice of books nobody can be dull.

No one can read a good and interesting book for an hour without being the better for it; happier and better, not merely for the moment, but the memory remains with us—stores of bright and beautiful thoughts which we can call up when we will. "The ink of the student," says an Arab proverb, "is as precious as the blood of the martyr."

But then, I think I hear some one say, "Oh, but probably the books read were mere rubbishy novels." I do not deny that there are many worthless novels, which come, as Ruskin said, fresh from the printers, "wet with the last and latest spray from the fount of folly." But many novels are as important and instructive as they are interesting. Without mentioning living authors, we cannot overrate the value of Scott and Thackeray, of Dickens and Kingsley, and many more. But is the proportion of novels read so excessive? Your report gives some very interesting particulars as to the classes of books issued. The total was a little

over 1,500,000. Of these, works on theology and philosophy accounted for over 20,000; history, biography, and travels, 91,000; politics and commerce, 36,000; science and art, 212,000; literature, 130,000; fiction, 890,000. If we omit the reference libraries and take the books issued, the works of fiction are in the proportion of about 4½ to 1. This, however, does not of course imply that four hours out of five devoted to reading will be devoted to fiction. A work on science or history will take five or perhaps ten times as much thought and time as a story, and I quite believe from the figures that your readers actually spent less time on works of fiction than they do on other subjects. Moreover, it is interesting to see that here as elsewhere the demand for solid books grows gradually in proportion.

It is indeed most important that those who use a library should use it wisely. Do we make the most of our opportunities? It is a great mistake to imagine that every one knows how to read. On the contrary, I should say that few do so. Two things have to be considered: how to read and what to read.

Every one thinks he knows how to read and write. This is, I believe, quite a delusion. I will not enter into the eccentricities of handwriting, but as to reading there seem to be two very common mistakes. The first is that many people seem to think that they will get the greatest enjoyment from reading by reading that which they enjoy most. That this is quite a fallacy can, I think, easily be shown.

Suppose—and I think this rather an extreme case

—that a story book is five times as entertaining as, let us say, a history. For the first day there is no doubt a considerable balance in favour of the story, but in six months the balance will be turned, and will soon be heavily in favour of the history. I am here, moreover, speaking merely of the pleasure, without considering the solid advantages.

A second error is to suppose that a real reader can be passive. Passive reading, however, is of very little use. It is not enough to run the eyes mechanically over the lines, to recognise the words, and to turn over the leaves. We must exercise the reason and the imagination; endeavour to call up the scenes depicted, to realise the characters described, to picture them in the gallery of the imagination. Thus only can we do justice to a really good book.

Among all the great discoveries of the nineteenth century, one of the greatest was the importance of education. Even so wise and good a man as Dr. Johnson was afraid that if every one learnt to read there would be no one willing to do the manual work of the world. He did not realise the dignity and interest of labour.

An appreciation of literature is now more general, but the wisest of men have always fully recognised its value.

"Happy," said Solomon—

> Happy is the man that findeth wisdom,
> And the man that getteth understanding:
> For the merchandise of it is better than the merchandise of silver,
> And the gain thereof than fine gold.
> She is more precious than rubies:

And all the things thou canst desire
Are not to be compared unto her.
Length of days is in her right hand ;
And in her left hand riches and honour.
Her ways are ways of pleasantness,
And all her paths are peace.

"Of all treasures," says the Hitopodesa, another great Eastern authority, "knowledge is the most precious, for it cannot be stolen, given away, nor consumed."

"Education," said Plato, "is the fairest thing that the best of men can ever have." Coming to our own country, Shakespeare tells us that

Ignorance is the curse of God ;
Knowledge the wing wherewith we fly to heaven.

In the words of an old English song—

Oh for a booke and a shadie nooke,
Eyther in doore or out ;
With the grene leaves whispering overhead,
Or the streete cryes all about,
Where I maie reade all at my ease,
Both of the newe and old ;
For a jollie goode booke whereon to looke
Is better to me than golde.[1]

"When I look back," said the late Sir J. Fitch, "on my own life, and think on the long-past school and college days, I know well that there is not a fact in history, not a formula in mathematics, not a rule in grammar, not a sweet and pleasant verse of poetry, not a truth in science which I ever learned, which has not come to me over and over again in the most

[1] Ascham.

unexpected ways, and proved to be of greater use than I could ever have believed. It has helped me to understand better the books I read, the history of events which are occurring round me, and to make the whole outlook of life larger and more interesting."

If people understood better the art of reading—what to read and how to read—their lives would be much happier, brighter, and more useful. We cannot be too thankful for the blessing of books. Lamb remarked that we say grace before dinner, but he thought we ought to do so before beginning a good book.

Macaulay had wealth and fame, rank and power, and yet he tells us in his biography that he owed the happiest hours of his life to books. In a charming letter to a little niece, he says, "Thank you for your very pretty letter. I am always glad to make my little girl happy, and nothing pleases me so much as to see that she likes books, for when she is as old as I am she will find that they are better than all the tarts and cakes, toys and plays and sights in the world. If any one would make me the greatest king that ever lived, with palaces and gardens and fine dinners, and wines and coaches, and beautiful clothes, and hundreds of servants, on condition that I should not read books, I would not be a king. I would rather be a poor man in a garret with plenty of books than a king who did not love reading."

Knowledge lights up the history of the world, and makes it one bright path of progress; it enables us to appreciate the literature of the world; it opens

for us the book of Nature, and creates sources of interest wherever we find ourselves.

Let us just consider how much better off we are than our ancestors were in ancient times. In the first place, to say nothing of the advantages of print, how much cheaper books are. For the price of a little beer, or one or two pipes of tobacco, a man can buy as much as he can read in a month; in their day, on the contrary, books were very expensive. Again, while our books are small and handy, theirs were ponderous and immense—very inconvenient either to hold or to read. Even our most learned books are in one sense light reading.

Again, how many of the most interesting books are by modern, many by living, authors.

Books are peculiarly necessary to the working men in our towns. Their life is one of much monotony. The savage has a far more varied existence. He must watch the habits of the game he hunts, their migrations and feeding-grounds; he must know where and how to fish; every month brings him some fresh occupation and some change of food. He must prepare his weapons and build his own house; even the lighting of a fire, so easy now, is to him a matter of labour and skill. The agricultural labourer turns his hand to many things. He ploughs and sows, mows and reaps. He plants at one season, uses the bill-hook and the axe at another. He looks after the sheep and pigs and cows. To hold the plough, to lay a fence, or tie up a sheaf, is by no means so easy as it looks. It is said of Wordsworth

that a stranger having on one occasion asked to see his study, the maid said, "This is master's room, but he studies in the fields." The agricultural labourer learns a great deal in the fields. He knows much more than we give him credit for. It is field-learning, not book-learning, but none the worse for that.

On the other hand, the man who works in a shop or manufactory has a much more monotonous life. He is confined to one process, or, perhaps, even one part of a process, from year's end to year's end. He acquires, no doubt, a skill little short of miraculous, but, on the other hand, very narrow. If he is not himself to become a mere animated machine, he must generally obtain, and in some cases he can only obtain, the necessary variety and interest from the use of books.

There is an Oriental story of two men: one was a king, who every night dreamt he was a beggar; the other was a beggar, who every night dreamt he was a prince and lived in a palace. I am not sure that the king had very much the best of it. Imagination is sometimes more vivid than reality. But, however this may be, when we read, we may not only (if we wish it) be kings and live in palaces, but, what is far better, we may transport ourselves to the mountains or the seashore, and visit the most beautiful and interesting spots on the earth, without fatigue, inconvenience, or expense.

English literature is the birthright of our race. We have produced and are producing some of the greatest of poets, of philosophers, of men of science.

No race can boast of a better, purer, or nobler literature—richer than our commerce, more powerful than our arms. It is the true pride and glory of our country, and we cannot be too thankful for it. It is no exaggeration to say that books endow us with an enchanted palace of bright and happy thoughts. A library has been said to be a true university; it is also a fairyland, a haven of repose from the storms and troubles of the world.

We hear much about English commerce and manufactures; although there seems no reason for despondency, there is every reason for exertion, and we must not throw away a chance. Many and great as have been the discoveries of the last century, the resources of science are not exhausted. No doubt some of the discoveries of the future will be made by great philosophers. But I doubt not that the workman, and, as I hope, the British workman, will bear his part in the years to come, as he has in those that are gone by.

Watt was a mechanical engineer; Henry Cort, whose improvements in manufactures are said to have added more to the wealth of England than the whole value of the National Debt, was the son of a brickmaker; Huntsman, the inventor of steel, was a watchmaker; Wedgwood was a potter; Crompton was a weaver; Brindley, Telford, Mushet, and Neilson were working men; George Stephenson began life as a cowboy at twopence a day, and could not read until he was eighteen. Dalton was the son of a weaver; Faraday, of a blacksmith; Newcomen, of a blacksmith; Arkwright began as a barber; Sir Humphrey

Davy was an apothecary's apprentice; Boulton, "the father of Birmingham," was the son of a button-maker; Watt, of a carpenter. To these men, and others like them, the world owes a deep debt of gratitude. We ought to be as proud of them as of our great generals and statesmen.

Is it not also delightful to think how many happy hours have been, and how many we may safely hope will be, spent within these walls—how much these volumes will have added to the happiness of your homes? A library is a true paradise in which everything is open to us, especially the fruit of the tree of knowledge, for which we are told that our first mother sacrificed all the delights of the Garden of Eden.

You will have no doubt times of sorrow, of suffering, and of anxiety. Even in such cases the treasures on your shelves may do much to relieve, to comfort, and to console. But there is one unnecessary trouble in life from which many suffer much—that of dulness and monotony, and at least I may congratulate you that no one in Manchester need ever be dull.

My Lord Mayor, I congratulate you on your great libraries, I thank you for the good example set by Manchester to the rest of the country, and I join cordially with you in celebrating the Jubilee of your Public Library, and in doing honour to the memory of your distinguished citizens by whom the library was founded.

VI

THE ORDER OF MERIT

THE occasion[1] which has brought us together this evening[2] is a memorable and unique event in the history of the Club.

The institution of the Order of Merit has been very favourably received, not only on its own account, but because of the admirable selection which has been made. We in the Athenæum may well be proud that out of the twelve members, no less than nine are colleagues of our own, and we feel it therefore as an honour to the whole Club.

Adequately to propose the health of any one of our guests, a whole evening would be insufficient. In

[1] In 1902 His Majesty founded a new Order, the Order of Merit. The first members were :—

LORD ROBERTS.	THE RIGHT HON. JOHN MORLEY.
LORD WOLSELEY.	THE RIGHT HON. W. H. LECKY.
LORD KITCHENER.	ADMIRAL SIR H. KEPPEL.
LORD RAYLEIGH.	ADMIRAL SIR E. SEYMOUR.
LORD KELVIN.	SIR W. HUGGINS, Bart.
LORD LISTER.	MR. WATTS.

Of these twelve no less than nine were members of the Athenæum Club, and their fellow-members determined to give them a dinner. They all attended on the occasion, except Lord Wolseley, who was abroad.

Lord Avebury, as senior trustee, took the chair at the dinner, and it fell to him to propose the toast of the evening.

[2] July 22, 1902.

proposing the twelve it is impossible even to indicate, however briefly, all their claims to our gratitude and admiration. Nor is it necessary, for their name and fame are household words among their fellow-countrymen.

Lord Roberts

Lord Roberts served with great distinction through the Indian Mutiny, and received the Victoria Cross in 1858. In the Abyssinian War he was Assistant Quartermaster-General. He held the chief command in Afghanistan, where he captured Cabul and defeated Ayoob Khan. He was Commander-in-Chief in India, and led the Burmese Expedition.

In the darkest hours of the late war, when we were all anxious lest our troops should be overwhelmed by superior numbers before sufficient reinforcements could reach them, we were cheered and delighted to hear that Lord Roberts had been appointed to the chief command. Our confidence was founded on his earlier achievements, and as the result showed, was fully justified; and his recent victories are a fitting crown to a great career. I must, however, say a word with reference to Lord Roberts from another point of view. His *Forty-one Years in India* is not only a marvellous record of one part of his remarkable life, but is also noble as a piece of literature; it inspires confidence in our country and pride in our race, and is a work which every young Englishman, and Englishwoman too, would do well to read.

Lord Wolseley

Lord Wolseley is unfortunately unable to be present. We shall, however, none the less, couple his name with the toast. Lord Wolseley was at the taking of Sebastopol and of Lucknow; he commanded the successful expedition to the Red River in 1867; that to Coomassie in 1873; the Egyptian Expedition in 1882, and in 1884 that to Khartoum; he has been Commander-in-Chief, and has twice received the thanks of Parliament. Lord Wolseley is also an author, and I must not omit to mention his *Life of Marlborough*, which is a masterpiece of research and skill.

Lord Kitchener

Lord Kitchener entered the army in 1871. In 1884 he was Adjutant-General in the Nile Expedition, and was afterwards Governor-General of the Red Sea Littoral. In 1888 he was appointed to command a division of the Egyptian Army, in 1892 became Sirdar, and in 1898 captured Khartoum and annihilated the tyranny of the Mahdi. He accompanied Lord Roberts, and succeeded him as Commander-in-Chief at the Cape, where the success of his military tactics has only been equalled by his tact and happy diplomacy. It has been said that peace has her victories as well as war. Lord Kitchener has combined both; he has not only brought the South African War to a glorious termination, but, as we

hope, has converted many of our former foes into firm friends and loyal fellow-countrymen.

Lord Rayleigh

In Lord Rayleigh we have one of our greatest men of science. He was senior wrangler and Smith's prizeman thirty-seven years ago. To teach our children something of everything, and everything of something, was Lord Brougham's ideal of education —a good one, were it only possible. If there were anything about which we might have been supposed to know everything, it would be our atmosphere. Yet Lord Rayleigh, among other important discoveries, found a new element in the air we breathe—one of the most remarkable chemical discoveries of modern times.

Lord Kelvin

Lord Kelvin was second wrangler and Smith's prizeman in 1845. At the early age of seventeen he wrote a remarkable paper, "On the Uniform Motion of Heat in Homogeneous Solid Bodies," and ever since he has poured forth a series of remarkable and profound memoirs. His inventions, especially in telegraphy and navigation, have also been most useful, and he contributed greatly to the laying of the first Atlantic cable. He has been President of the British Association, and has also received the two greatest honours which the Royal Society has to confer—the Copley Medal and the Presidency of the Society.

Lord Lister

Few branches of science have advanced more of late years than surgery, and to no one has that progress been more due than to Lord Lister. His antiseptic treatment of wounds has rendered many operations possible, enormously diminished pain of recovery, and saved hundreds of lives. It must be a supreme consolation to him in hours of suffering, which we must all expect, to feel how much he has done to mitigate and to diminish the sufferings of others. He also has been President of the Royal Society.

Admiral Sir Harry Keppel

Admiral Sir Harry Keppel entered the navy nearly eighty, and rose to the rank of captain more than sixty, years ago. He served with distinction in the Chinese War of 1842; he commanded the Naval Brigade before Sebastopol in the Crimean War; in 1860 he was Naval Commander-in-Chief at the Cape, and in 1867 Vice-Admiral on the China Station. He became Admiral of the Fleet in 1877. He may justly be called the Father of the British Navy.

The Right Hon. John Morley

We all recognise Mr. Morley as one of our greatest writers. We have read with admiration his vivid

history of the French Revolution, his graphic judicial biographies of English statesmen. If we cannot all share his political views, we recognise his consistency, his courage and courtesy, and offer him our hearty congratulations.

The Right Hon. W. H. Lecky

The University of Dublin deserves well of the country for sending Mr. Lecky to assist in the councils of the nation, and if we wonder at some of the members whom the sister island sends to represent, or misrepresent, her, the presence of Mr. Lecky does much to redress the balance. If votes were weighed as well as counted, Ireland could perhaps not be said to be in favour of Home Rule. Our children will not go far wrong if they take as a guide his *Map of Life*.

Admiral Sir Edward Seymour

Admiral Sir Edward Seymour was present at the bombardment of Sebastopol. He took part in the capture of Canton in 1857. In 1897 he became Commander-in-Chief on the China Station. It is remarkable that Sir Edward has three times commanded in China, and three times taken the Taku Forts. We shall not soon forget our anxiety for the safety of our countrymen shut up in the Legation at Peking, and their release was to a great extent due to the energy of Sir Edward Seymour, and afforded another instance in which our gallant navy has served us well not only afloat but ashore.

Sir W. Huggins

Next comes the President of the Royal Society. Comte laid it down as an axiom that while astronomers might determine the position, magnitude, and movements of the heavenly bodies, it was beyond the possibilities of human genius ever to ascertain their chemical composition. What Comte pronounced little more than half a century ago to be impossible, Sir William has already in part accomplished; and the man who has thrown so much light on the stars certainly deserves a place among the twelve.

Mr. Watts

As long ago as 1843 Mr. Watts' cartoon of Caractacus raised hopes for his future career which time has fully justified. For over fifty years we have admired his pictures in the Royal Academy. Twenty years ago an exhibition of his works was held at the Grosvenor Gallery, and he has executed some of the beautiful frescoes at Westminster. He has bequeathed to the nation a number of portraits of our most distinguished countrymen, and fitly represents British Art.

We offer our cordial congratulations, and wish long life, health, and happiness to our honoured guests.

VII

ON BANK HOLIDAYS[1]

During the Middle Ages there were in England, as in other European countries, a large number of Saints' days, which were more or less religiously kept as holidays. These were probably too numerous; but, on the other hand, at the Reformation we went certainly into the opposite extreme, and "Merrie England," at the bidding of the Puritans, gave up holidays altogether, excepting indeed Christmas Day and Good Friday, which were retained not, however, as holidays, but as holy days.

Gradually, however, the common-sense of the people rebelled against this state of things, and Easter Monday, Whit Monday, and Boxing Day were kept, at any rate partially, as holidays. I say partially, because those who really needed them most—those whose avocations were sedentary—derived little advantage from them.

It was impossible, for instance, for bankers or merchants to avail themselves of these days, because they were bound, during business hours, to meet all claims legally made upon them. Any bill due and

[1] Reprinted by the kind permission of the editor of the *Nineteenth Century*.

not paid would have been, and must have been, protested, and as a matter of fact all commercial offices were open. Excepting for a week's or a fortnight's holiday once in the year, the only days on which a clerk could reckon were Christmas Day and Good-Friday. Even if he was kindly given one or two more, he probably did not know long beforehand, and could therefore make no arrangements. Moreover, it was improbable that other members of his family or his special friends would be free on the same day.

When I was invited in 1865 to stand as one of the Liberal candidates for West Kent, I naturally asked myself what I should do if I were elected, and one of the reasons which influenced me was the hope of securing, on behalf of our people, a few days for rest and recreation.

The holidays already in existence were all of religious origin. It is remarkable that the Bank Holidays created by the Act of 1871 were the first ever instituted by any Legislature for the purposes of rest and enjoyment; all previous were either religious fasts or festivals. The Act also authorises the Queen in Council to proclaim any other day to be a holiday under the Act. Previously a holiday might be proclaimed, but only as a fast or day of national humiliation. There was no power to proclaim a holiday for thanksgiving or rejoicing.

It has often been asserted that the Bank Holidays were originally intended for bank clerks only. This is entirely a mistake. The Act expressly provides that "no person shall be compellable to do any act

on a Bank Holiday which he would not be compellable to do on Christmas Day or Good Friday"; and I always believed that, coming as it does in the splendid summer weather, the August holiday would eventually become the most popular in the whole year.

It may be asked, then, Why did we call these days Bank Holidays?

The reason is rather technical. According to immemorial custom the payer of a bill in England has three days' grace, so that an acceptance which comes due nominally on the first of the month is not really payable till the fourth. If, however, the third day of grace should fall upon Christmas Day, Good Friday, or a Sunday, then it is not thought fair the payer should have a fourth day's grace, and such bills are due the day before—that is to say, they are due on the Saturday or the day before Good Friday or Christmas Day.

Now, in considering the Bank Holidays it was thought that it might act unjustly if a person were called upon to provide for his acceptances the day before they would otherwise have fallen due. And after some consideration, therefore, we suggested that bills falling due upon these days should be payable, not the day before the last day of grace, but on the day after; so that a bill falling due on a Bank Holiday becomes really payable a day later than would be the case if it were due on a Sunday, Good Friday, or Christmas Day.

Under these circumstances it was necessary to use

some special name for the new holidays in our Bill. If we had called them National Holidays or General Holidays this would not have distinguished them from the old holidays, and, moreover, we thought that it would perhaps call too much attention to the proposed change. They were therefore called "Bank Holidays," and this is the real origin of a word which has now become so familiar. But it was never intended that these holidays should be applicable exclusively to banks.

Bank Holidays have not, indeed, escaped criticism. A writer in this Review has attacked them with much severity. "Let Parliament," he says, "abolish Bank Holidays altogether. . . . The institution has been tried. It has signally and disastrously failed."

Is this the case? It must be remembered that the holidays are purely permissive. In many places they were at first almost ignored. In London and some other towns they were partially availed of from the first, but everywhere they have gradually become more and more popular and generally adopted.

Even on the first August Bank Holiday, the *Times* told us that "cyclists of both sexes covered the roads. River steamers and pleasure boats carried their thousands to Kew and the upper reaches of the Thames. The London parks were crowded. The Botanic Gardens and the Zoological Gardens formed great attractions, and the flowers of Battersea Park drew large crowds all day. The India and Ceylon Exhibition was visited by an enormous crowd."

I took out the numbers carried by the railway

companies from their London stations for the August Bank Holiday of 1896, as far as I was able to ascertain them :—

Great Eastern	130,000
South Eastern	81,000
London and Brighton	30,000
London, Chatham, and Dover	41,000
South Western	35,000
Great Western	41,000
North Western	14,000
Midland	22,000
Great Northern	18,000
North London	20,000
London, Tilbury, and Southend	22,000
City and South London	26,000
The visitors to Kew Gardens were	73,000
To the British Museum and National Gallery	25,000
To the Crystal Palace	80,000
To the Zoological Gardens	22,000
To Windsor Castle	17,000
To Madame Tussaud's	27,000
Those on Hampstead Heath were estimated at	120,000

In other cities also the holiday was very generally observed.

But then the same writer makes this very fact the basis of his attack.

Four times in every year [he says] do . . . people set themselves to look for amusement, and find it usually in the public house. Four times in every year . . . the various police magistrates dispose of interminable lists of more or less serious offences arising out of the efforts of the State and Sir John Lubbock to procure rest and recreation for the people. . . . Since on Bank Holiday from a fourth to an eighth of the adult poorer classes of England are drunk before the end of the day, it is not astonishing that the following morning should display a goodly number of broken heads and beaten wives. . . . The

women are generally at least as drunk as the men on St. Lubbock's festal days.

I was at first indignant at this attack on our poorer countrymen and countrywomen; but it is really so extravagant and absurd as to be beneath contempt.

The writer does not bring forward a tittle of evidence in support of his assertion that "from a fourth to an eighth" of our poorer fellow-countrymen and countrywomen get drunk on Bank Holidays, nor indeed could he prove his assertion. The Home Secretary, Sir Matthew White Ridley, has been so kind as to give me the number of charges in the whole metropolis for the last August Bank Holiday and the days which immediately preceded and followed. They were as follows:—

Saturday . .	202	Tuesday . . .	240
Sunday . . .	107	Wednesday . .	140
Monday . . .	214		

It will be seen, therefore, that the charges on the day after the Bank Holiday were very slightly above the average.

Most of the cases, moreover, are said to have been trivial, and the number is infinitesimal in a population of 5,000,000. Indeed, Sir John Bridge, the late senior magistrate for London, who speaks of course with unrivalled authority, authorises me to say that in his experience "the days after Bank Holidays are days on which we have remarkably few charges."[1]

[1] Speaking of last Easter Monday Bank Holiday the *Times* (April 21, 1897) says: "At most of the police courts the Bank Holiday charges were below the average in number, and very few of them were serious."

People in fact quarrel and break the law not when they are happy and enjoying themselves, but when they are suffering and miserable.

The writer of the article in this Review goes on to say that

> If everybody did things at different times we should all get twice the value out of life; . . . but this unhappily is impossible. Man is a gregarious animal, and as the school holidays must take place in August, the parents' holiday must take place in August too. . . .
>
> Is it absolutely necessary that everybody's Bank Holiday should fall on the same day? That is the real problem. Would it be possible to alter the present arrangement, and spread the four public holidays over other days in the year? This seems the only conceivable solution. . . . We might divide up our poorer classes by trades, and assign different days to each trade for its holiday. . . . But there are probably practical difficulties in the way of such an arrangement.
>
> The State might abolish the present Bank Holidays, . . . and content itself with enacting that every employé should claim from his employer four separate days.
>
> But this would probably be found extremely inconvenient.

As he admits that one of his alternatives would probably be impracticable, and the other "extremely inconvenient," it is perhaps unnecessary to discuss them. But the suggestions show that he has not grasped the conditions of life of those for whom Bank Holidays were specially designed. He is evidently not a father, or he would not assert that we should "get twice the value out of life" if we did not take our holidays with our children. Bank Holidays are popular because every one knows when they are coming and can make arrangements beforehand. Husbands and wives, parents and children, brothers

and sisters, and friends, are, in thousands of cases, engaged in different businesses, but under the Act they can reckon on getting four holidays at any rate all together. To withdraw this benefit would deprive the holidays of half their advantage.

But the writer denies the advantage altogether, and says that they have entirely failed.

So far from this, as I have shown above, the evidence is conclusive and overwhelming that they are immensely popular, that they are being more and more wisely used, and that, in the opinion of those for whom they were intended, they have splendidly fulfilled the purpose for which they were established.

The question, indeed, arises whether one more at any rate might not be granted with advantage. Easter Monday, and even Whit Monday, come generally somewhat early in the year, when the weather is uncertain and often unpropitious. The Christmas holiday falls of course in the depth of winter.

The new August holiday is therefore the only one which enables our people to enjoy the "pageant of summer." It is the only break between Whit Monday and Christmas Day. A day in July would be an inestimable boon.

Many suggestions have been made as to the best way of commemorating the deep debt of gratitude we owe to our late Queen. June 22 was constituted a Bank Holiday in 1897. But why for that year only? I have suggested that it should be added to our short list of red-letter days.

By many of those most concerned the idea was enthusiastically welcomed. For instance, the Scottish Shopkeepers' and Assistants' Union, the most important representative of the Scotch shopkeeping community, with branches all over Scotland, and the West Yorkshire Federated Chamber of Trade, passed and sent me unanimous resolutions in its favour. I ought, indeed, to admit that two Working Men's Associations in Sheffield and Birmingham sent me resolutions in the opposite sense. It must be remembered, however, that artisans do not need another holiday so much as others less fortunately situated. They have secured for themselves short (I do not say too short) hours and a weekly half-holiday. The so-called working man, in fact, works less than almost any other class of the community. He is employed say fifty hours per week; shopkeepers and shop assistants work in many places over eighty. Clerks, of course, are not employed so long, but their duties are sedentary, and a greater strain on the nervous system.

Moreover, as these holidays are not compulsory it would still be open to the artisans of Birmingham and Sheffield to go on working if they wished. I doubt, however, if they would wish long.

In any case a Bank Holiday in commemoration of the Queen's reign would be received by thousands as an inestimable boon; it would increase, not diminish, the national output; it would probably be adopted in the Colonies, and would be another link binding the Empire together.

It would be difficult, I believe, to propose anything which would add more to the health and happiness of our people, or more contribute to preserve the memory of Her Majesty's long, wise, and glorious reign, than the institution in the middle of our beautiful summer weather of a "Victoria Day."

VIII

ON THE EARLY CLOSING BILL

It may be asserted with confidence that no class of our fellow-countrymen or countrywomen work for longer hours than shop assistants and small shopkeepers. During the last thirty years I have brought the subject frequently before the House of Commons, having introduced the first Bill dealing with the subject in 1873, but without any success until 1886, when the Shop Hours Regulation Bill, which deals with young persons under eighteen, became law. It was referred by the House of Commons to a Select Committee, which took a great deal of evidence, and so impressed were they with the magnitude and gravity of the evil, that besides passing the Bill they presented to the House a Special Report suggesting legislation on the lines of the present Early Closing Bill.

The Report, which I may say was adopted unanimously, called attention to the fact that "the practice of keeping open shops until a late hour of the evening prevails extensively;" "that the hours of shop assistants range, in many places, as high as eighty-four per week; that such hours must be

generally injurious, and often ruinous, to health; that the great majority of witnesses expressed their opinion that little could be expected from voluntary action in the poorer neighbourhoods;" and they ended by expressing their opinion that "nothing short of legislation would be effective, and that your Committee believe that employers are not indisposed to such limitation, provided it takes the form of a general Early Closing of Shops."

This Report was brought to the attention of the Presidents of the two great Colleges—the College of Physicians and the College of Surgeons, and they were so convinced of the gravity of the evil, that in conjunction with Sir James Paget, Sir W. Priestley, Sir S. Wilks, Sir R. Quain, Sir A. Clark, and Dr. Playfair, representing, as I am sure every one will admit, the very highest possible medical authority, they issued a circular inviting the opinion of London medical men to the subject, and the result was a memorial—technically, a petition—signed by over 300 of the London doctors, stating that, "having had our attention called to the very late hours to which shops are open, and being satisfied that such prolonged hours of labour are grievously injurious to health, especially in the case of women, pray your Honourable House to enact the Early Closing Bill introduced by Sir J. Lubbock."

The then Archbishop of Canterbury (Dr. Benson) and the Bishop of London (Dr. Temple) issued a similar circular from a moral and religious point of view, and a petition in support of the Bill was

presented by a large majority of the clergy of London.

No doubt the injury is greatest in the case of women, and a similar memorial was presented, signed by some 400 of the nurses in our great Metropolitan hospitals.

A great deal has been done of late to improve the moral and intellectual condition of our London people, but what use are evening schools, or polytechnics, or public libraries, to shopkeepers and assistants who are at work till nine, ten, or eleven o'clock every night?

The House of Commons Committee reported that in many places the hours of labour in shops amount to eighty-four in the week, or about thirty hours a week more than artisans; and, having made a special study of the question, I confidently assert that matters are, on the whole, no better than they were then. Competition is, indeed, perhaps even keener, and the hours longer than ever. Eighty-four hours a week is fourteen hours a day; if we allow eight for sleep—little enough under such circumstances—there remain two hours out of the twenty-four for dressing and undressing, for going to and from the work, for breakfast and supper. Not an hour, not a moment, is left for amusement, for fresh air, for self-improvement or family intercourse. No wonder their health breaks down, no wonder our medical men made their solemn protest.

In 1888 we brought in a Bill to enact a fixed hour of closing, which, however, was thrown out, the

House of Commons being of opinion that the requirements of different places, of different seasons, and of different trades rendered it impossible to fix any definite hour applicable to all circumstances, all trades, all seasons, and the whole Kingdom. Moreover, the hours in some parts of London are so terribly late that whenever the change comes it must be gradual.

Under these circumstances, in March 1893 I moved in the House of Commons, and the House unanimously resolved, "that in the opinion of this House, the excessive and unnecessarily long hours of labour in shops are injurious to the comfort, health, and well-being of all concerned; and that it is desirable to give to local authorities such powers as may be necessary to enable them to carry out the general wishes of the shopkeeping community with reference to the hours of closing."

In pursuance of this resolution we introduced a Bill, on which the present measure is founded, and in 1895 we succeeded in securing the second reading, and it was referred to a Select Committee, which approved it with a few verbal amendments. We were, however, prevented by the opponents from being on the Report stage on the third reading. In 1896 it was again read a second time, and referred to the Grand Committee on Trade. The Committee approved it, but again the opponents succeeded in preventing us from securing a day for the Report and third reading.

In 1900 I brought it on in the House of Lords,

but it was thrown out. In 1901 we moved for and secured a Committee. It consisted of Lord Salisbury, the Duke of Marlborough, Lord Stamford, Lord Romney, Lord Verulam, Lord Hardwicke, the Bishop of Winchester, Lord Brassey, and Lord Avebury. This was, I believe, the last House of Lords Committee on which Lord Salisbury sat, and it afforded a remarkable instance of his candour and fairness. In granting the Committee he threw cold water on the whole inquiry. But having granted it, he looked into the subject, and to my surprise offered himself to sit on the Committee. Of course I was very glad that he should do so. The evidence was overwhelming, and to my great satisfaction Lord Salisbury approved my report, which was unanimous, and from which I subjoin the main passages.

"The evidence has satisfied the Committee that the subject is one of urgent importance, and that the existing evils show no general or sufficient sign of amendment. In many places the hours during which shops are open range as high as eighty to ninety per week, in addition to which some time is occupied in clearing up, putting away the goods, and packing up the articles purchased.

"Eighty-four hours per week of six days amount to fourteen hours a day, and it is almost self-evident that such long hours, especially when the shops are crowded, ill-ventilated, and lighted by gas, must (as pointed out by the House of Commons Committee

of 1886) be injurious, and often ruinous, to health, especially in the case of women.

"We are able, however, to appeal to the highest medical testimony as to the injury thus caused. In 1888 the Presidents of the two great medical Colleges, with some of the other leaders of the medical profession, Sir James Paget, Sir Andrew Clarke, Dr. Matthews Duncan, Mr. John Marshall, Dr. Playfair, Dr. Priestley, Sir Richard Quain, Sir William Savory, Sir Samuel Wilks, called the attention of Parliament to the subject and urged the passing of the Early Closing Bill.

"Considering the weight which belongs to that memorial, and the fact that its statements have never been seriously challenged, the Committee did not deem it necessary to multiply medical evidence on the subject. The Presidents, however, both of the College of Physicians and of the College of Surgeons have come before us and spoken strongly on the great and increasing evils of the present long hours. Sir W. MacCormac stated that 'there is no doubt in my mind that such long hours must contribute to the incidence of disease; that it must lower the general vitality of persons so engaged, and render them more liable than they otherwise would be to attacks of different forms of disease, and most especially on account of the long hours at night which such a period of work during the week entails. These hours, too, for the most part are worked in an atmosphere very prejudicial to health, and we know how largely the air so contaminated contributed to

the production of various forms of disease in which tubercule, for instance, and the manifold forms of disease in which tubercule manifests itself, and that other disease of great cities (rickets) has some parts of its origin from this cause. I think, as we have called attention to it, women, more especially growing women—women who have not reached the full growth of their sex—are most prone to suffer from such long hours.'

"Furthermore, he urged on us that the evil is one which increases as time runs on; 'it is gradual and progressive in its effects, and it goes on, I am afraid, in a cumulative degree.'

"Sir W. Selby Church, the President of the College of Physicians, gave similar evidence.

"Such serious warnings from the heads of the medical profession cannot in our judgment safely be disregarded. We have, however, endeavoured to ascertain whether there are any, and if so what, objections to legislation on the subject.

"In the first place, we have endeavoured to ascertain the views of the shopkeepers themselves. By evidence, petition, or resolution we have had before us the views of a large number of tradesmen's associations, formed for the purpose of trade, in all parts of the country. Of these over 290[1] are in favour of the general provisions of the Early Closing Bill, and many would wish to see it made more stringent, while the only tradesmen's associations which have petitioned, or desired to give evidence, against the

[1] This number has since been considerably increased.

Bill were the Off License Holders and the London Pawnbrokers.

"The witnesses were generally of opinion that though matters would be worse if it had not been for the exertions of Early Closing Associations, little more could be expected from voluntary action, and that nothing short of legislation would be effective.

"While deploring the long hours, they explained clearly that for fear of losing custom, shopkeepers were unwilling to shut their doors while their neighbours were open, though they were anxious to do so provided the closing were general.

"The evils of late closing press with especial severity on the owners of small shops, and although it is undoubtedly more difficult to ascertain the views of the very small shopkeepers than of those who are more fully organised, we were assured by the large majority of witnesses conversant with the facts that the small tradesmen were as anxious as, or even more anxious than, the richer shopkeepers for some legislation which would enable them to shorten hours. No Act which merely regulated the hours of labour of shop assistants would benefit or satisfy them. This evidence is amply supported by the petitions we have received during the sittings of the Committee.

"It is sometimes alleged that although the shopkeepers and their assistants are in favour of earlier hours of closing, any change in that direction would inflict hardship on the poorest class of purchasers or consumers. It is true that little evidence has been

heard which, strictly speaking, can be considered to represent the opinions of such purchasers. Owing to the necessary want of organisation, and the well-known reluctance of private persons amongst the working classes to appear before public Committees of Inquiry, any large body of evidence from small purchasers could only have been obtained by such a prolongation of the sittings of the Committee as would necessarily have involved its reappointment next year. In these circumstances, we have made it our endeavour to ascertain, by the secondary or indirect evidence of those conversant with the subject, whether a reasonable curtailment of hours would inflict any serious inconvenience on any class of the community. The co-operative stores—even those which endeavour to cater for the very poor—we find invariably close early, and their representatives assured us that this was in no way inconvenient to their customers. The representatives of trades unions, speaking as, or on behalf of, working-class purchasers, all expressed the same opinion. There are, moreover, some towns where the hours are even now reasonably short, and we were assured that there were no complaints on this score. Among the instances of possible hardship which were suggested to us, special stress was laid upon the cases of waiters, carmen, and cabmen. These all have, however, trade unions in London, and in each case the secretaries appeared before us, repudiated the idea that earlier closing would be injurious to those whom they represented, and expressed a hope that the Early Closing Bill

would become law. Many witnesses also expressed a strong desire that the law relating to Sunday trading should be strengthened by applying to it the scale of fines contained in the present Early Closing Bill.

"The evidence has convinced us that earlier closing would be an immense boon to the shopkeeping community, to shopkeepers and shop assistants alike; that the present hours are grievously injurious to health, especially in the case of women; and under these circumstances we recommend that town councils should be authorised to pass Provisional Orders, making such regulations in respect to the closing of shops as may seem to them to be necessary for the areas under their jurisdiction; and these Provisional Orders should be submitted to Parliament in the usual manner before acquiring the force of law. Special enactments for restraining the outlay involved, and providing for its discharge, may be necessary."

We had proposed that two-thirds of the shopkeepers in any locality should be authorised to memorialise the local authority, and that the local authority should then be empowered to close the shops (with one or two specified exceptions) at the hour named; and that with some safeguards the local authority should be empowered to enact a half-holiday. In accordance, however, with Lord Salisbury's suggestion, which for the sake of unanimity was adopted by the Committee, the assent of the local authority must be approved by the Home Office. It must then be

submitted to Parliament, and becomes operative unless an address is carried against it. The two last provisions seem to me unnecessary, but I do not think they would be found to present any serious difficulty.

It would be easy to occupy many pages—or even volumes—with harrowing details of the terrible sufferings involved in these terribly long hours. But indeed they are self-evident. Eighty-four hours are fourteen a day, if we allow eight for sleep—little enough under such circumstances—and two for dressing, undressing, and going to and from the shop, and not a moment is left for fresh air and exercise, for recreation or self-improvement, for visiting friends and relations.

I will only quote one bit of evidence. Mr. Wallauer appeared before us on behalf of the London Master Bakers' Society, representing over 6000 shops and employing from 18,000 to 20,000 women, of whom he told us "90 per cent are employed from 7 in the morning till 10 at night, and 12 on Saturdays." That makes ninety-two hours a week, and on behalf of his trade Mr. Wallauer supported this Bill, which indeed he would have liked to see more stringent, because they see no hope of improvement by voluntary action. The hours, he said, "are unnecessarily long and excessively cruel, and as a matter of fact, it is white slavery for the 18,000 to 20,000 females in our own one trade."

They have the Sunday—a blessed day of rest, but under such circumstances of rest and nothing more.

Men so overworked cannot be useful citizens; women, as the greatest medical authorities have pressed on Parliament over and over again, gradually fade away; they can never become the mothers of healthy and vigorous children. This is a most serious consideration, and imposes on us a great responsibility.

Indeed, the fact being admitted that thousands and thousands of shop assistants were being worked fourteen hours a day and sixteen on Saturdays, surely there was an overwhelming case for legislation. When the Factory Acts were proposed their supporters were never expected to prove that manufacturers themselves were in their favour. But in this case the shopkeepers themselves are in favour of legislation, strengthening the case immensely.

I may perhaps be asked—in fact I often have been asked—why, if shopkeepers are in favour of shorter hours, they do not close earlier. The reason is that they are kept open by the keenness of competition. Every one is afraid that if his neighbour remained open after he himself was closed, he would lose some of his customers. Let me give a case in point. Some years ago the drapers of South London agreed to close at 8. They did so, and what happened? A new man came and opened a shop in the middle of the district on purpose to get the late trade. Those in the same street at once broke away and kept open also, then those in the surrounding streets, and within a month the whole district was as late as ever. Then they held a meeting and passed a unanimous resolution that nothing but legislation would cure the

evil. Over and over again it has happened that one or two obstinate or selfish men keep a whole district open late.

One argument often used against the Bill is that it would injure the small shopkeepers. But the answer is that the small shopkeepers would fix the hour for themselves. As they are the most numerous, and nothing can be done without the consent of two-thirds of the shopkeepers, they have the matter in their own hands. In fact they are the backbone of the movement.

One of the most active members of the House of Commons Committee of 1886 was Mr. Thorold Rogers, then member for Southwark. He entered on the inquiry with the impression that I was fighting the battle of the assistant against the shopkeeper. But after hearing the evidence of the first day or two he came to me and said that he intended to devote some days to visiting the small shops in his constituency. At the end of the time he came and told me that he was quite surprised. When he explained what we proposed, they were delighted. They said they would save doctors' bills, gas, and time; would have more leisure, get to bed earlier, and do just as much business; that nothing which Parliament could do would add so much to their health and happiness.

The small shopkeepers have, in fact, always been our warmest supporters. And why? They believe that they will get more rest and leisure, that their health will be better, that they will save in gas and other expenses, and last, not least, that

they will do more business. I have always maintained that they would do as much, but there is amongst them a general belief, for which I must say they give good reasons, that they will do more. They give two reasons: firstly, that if shops shut earlier people will buy what they want nearer home; and secondly, that more will be spent in the shop and less in the public-house.

The classes primarily affected by the Bill are the assistants, the customers, and the shopkeepers, and the Bill has the support of all three.

I may just also observe in passing that the measure has the general support of Early Closing Associations throughout the country. They have, of course, studied the question most carefully, and this Bill is the result.

Nor is it probably necessary to convince any one that the shop assistants are anxious for shorter hours. The Amalgamated Union of Assistants indeed oppose our Bill as not going far enough, but so far as I know they are alone in this view, and the Grocers' Assistants' Association, and indeed all the other Assistants' Associations, support us cordially.

As regards customers, we rely partly on public meetings. In almost every great city one or more public meetings, with the Mayor in the chair—Liverpool, Manchester, Birmingham, Bristol, Edinburgh, Glasgow, and many more—have been held in support of the Bill, and I believe, with a single exception, there has never been one against it, and in this case every one was in favour of legislation, but

the meeting by a small majority preferred a Bill with a fixed hour for the whole country. This proposal, however, which I myself made in 1888, was rejected by Parliament, on the ground that the differences of trades, of seasons, and of localities, render it impracticable.

Again, petitions with thousands of signatures have been presented for the Bill, and scarcely any against it. The Trades Councils of London, Manchester, Liverpool, Bristol, Hull, Edinburgh, Glasgow, Dublin, and other places, may fairly be taken to represent the views of working men, and they have passed unanimous resolutions in favour of legislation.

Lastly, I come to the shopkeepers themselves. Happily this is no case of the masses against the classes, or of class against class. The shopkeepers are—I say it to their credit—warm supporters of the Bill. It is, in fact, the shopkeepers' Bill. They only ask Parliament to grant them the power and they will soon shorten the hours. The petitions in favour of the Bill were to a great extent signed by shopkeepers. As regards London, I presented a petition in its favour signed by more than half the shopkeepers affected. The Bill has also been considered clause by clause, and line by line, and approved by two important Congresses of Shopkeepers—one held at Nottingham and one at Glasgow. But the strongest evidence is the action of Shopkeepers' Associations. We are supported by over three hundred Shopkeepers' Associations in all parts of the country. At the end of 1897 I introduced a deputa-

tion to Sir M. White Ridley, representing the principal Tradesmen's Associations who came up to support the Bill, and he admitted that they represented the great shopkeeping interest of the country. On the other hand, so far as the Lords Committee could ascertain, only two Shopkeepers' Associations oppose the Bill.

We claim, then, to have shown the strong medical opinion as regards the necessity of some such measure in the interest of health; the practically unanimous clerical opinion in the interests of morals and education; that the working men support legislation from their generous sympathy with the most overworked class of the community; and last, not least, that we are supported by an overwhelming majority of the shopkeepers themselves. Considering the attention which has been devoted to protecting the health and shortening the hours of labour of those who work in factories and workshops, it seems extraordinary that no Government has yet given any attention to the case of shop assistants and small shopkeepers. I firmly believe that there is no measure which Parliament could enact which would do more to promote the well-being, the health and happiness, of the people of our great cities.

IX[1]

ON THE PRESENT POSITION OF BRITISH COMMERCE

We hear from time to time very diverse opinions as to the present position of English manufactures and commerce, and in some quarters the most gloomy apprehensions are entertained both as to their present condition and future prospects.

The facts do not seem to me to justify these melancholy forebodings.

Let us see how they really stand.

So far as the general condition of trade is concerned the amount of our exports and imports last year attained the gigantic total of £878,000,000, and is the largest volume of commerce ever transacted in a single year by any country in the history of the world.

The value of our total exports and imports was, in

1855	£260,000,000
1860	378,000,000
1870	547,000,000
1880	697,000,000
1890	749,000,000
1900	877,000,000
1902	878,000,000

Moreover, the period of increase coincided remarkably

[1] This and the following chapter were written before the recent speeches by Mr. Chamberlain and others. They have not shaken my faith in Free Trade, but I have taken some things for granted which, to my surprise, I now see are questioned. October 30, 1903.

with the adoption of our free trade policy. For the first fifty years of the last century our trade showed but slow progress. After free trade was adopted it went up by leaps and bounds.

Those, however, who take a gloomy view of our commercial position generally complain that our exports are falling off compared with those of other countries. Have we then in this respect any reason for discouragement?

The average value of our domestic exports in the five years ending 1805 was £39,000,000, and in the five years ending 1850 was £61,000,000, an increase of about £22,000,000 in fifty years. In the five years ending 1900 they were £253,000,000, an increase in the next fifty years of no less than £192,000,000. Moreover, if we take the figures every five years the result comes out even more clearly. At the beginning of the century, as already mentioned, our exports were £39,000,000. The Corn Laws were abolished in 1846, and our average exports during the preceding five years were £54,000,000. In the five years ending

1850	they were	£61,000,000
1855	„	89,000,000
1860	„	124,000,000
1865	„	144,000,000
1870	„	188,000,000
1880	„	201,000,000
1890	„	227,000,000
1900	„	253,000,000

The great rise followed, therefore, very closely the free trade policy. But it is often said that other

countries are making greater progress. Let us, then, compare our own figures with those of other countries.

The following table gives our statistics as compared with those of France, Germany, Russia, and the United States.

IMPORTS AND EXPORTS OF CERTAIN COUNTRIES, EXCLUDING BULLION AND SPECIE

SPECIAL TRADE, 1895-1900.

(000's are omitted. The figures up to 1899 do not include ships, the value of which that year amounted to £9,200,000.)

Calendar Years.	United Kingdom.	France.	Germany.	Russia.	United States, years ending 30th June.
1895—	£	£	£	£	£
Imports . .	356,986	148,796	206,035	53,851	149,547
Exports . .	226,128	134,952	165,895	68,908	165,290
Total . .	583,114	283,748	371,930	122,759	314,837
1896—					
Imports . .	385,575	151,944	215,360	58,981	158,400
Exports . .	246,146	136,036	176,255	68,993	179,833
Total . .	631,721	287,980	391,615	127,974	338,233
1897—					
Imports . .	391,075	158,240	234,035	56,000	155,363
Exports . .	234,220	143,920	181,750	72,612	215,002
Total . .	625,295	302,160	415,785	128,612	370,365
1898—					
Imports . .	409,890	178,902	254,032	59,324	128,343
Exports . .	233,360	140,436	187,828	74,828	252,144
Total . .	643,250	319,338	441,860	134,152	380,487
1899—					
Imports . .	419,994	180,732	259,850	62,745	145,239
Exports . .	264,492	166,105	199,571	63,507	250,819
Total . .	684,486	346,837	459,421	126,252	396,058
1900—					
Imports . .	460,534	176,341	277,900	60,430	177,024
Exports . .	291,451	163,121	220,700	72,680	285,516
Total . .	751,985	339,462	498,600	133,110	462,540

SPECIAL TRADE. *Note.*—Special Imports are Imports for Home Consumption. Special Exports are Exports of Domestic Produce.

	United Kingdom.	France.	Germany.	Russia.	United States.
Total Trade: Excess of 1900 over 1895	168,800	55,714	126,670	10,351	147,703
Exports: Excess of 1900 over 1895	65,000	28,169	54,805	3,772	120,226

Thus, then, if we take our trade for 1900 as compared with 1895, the figures are as follows: Russia, an increase of £10,000,000; France, £56,000,000; Germany, £127,000,000; the United States, £148,000,000; and the United Kingdom, £169,000,000.

Many, however, may say that the imports merely show our requirements; that for the comparison of the condition of our manufacturing interests we must look, not at the whole trade, but rather at the exports.

Let us, therefore, take the "special" exports in the same way, comparing those last year with 1895. The differences are: Russia, an increase of £4,000,000; France of £28,000,000; Germany of £55,000,000; and the United Kingdom of £65,000,000.

The figures, therefore, certainly do not justify the pessimistic views as to our commerce.

Moreover, the figures are the more remarkable if we bear in mind the great falling off in prices. The President of the Board of Trade (Mr. Gerald Balfour) has recently stated (*Times*, 11th and 19th August) that if the figures were computed at the prices of 1873 our total commerce for 1902 would have been over £1,200,000,000, and our exports at £418,000,000.

In fact, for some purposes the weight would be a better criterion of trade than the value.

It is not, indeed, possible to obtain such figures with any accuracy. Mr. John Williamson, of Liverpool, has, however, calculated, for the Chamber of Shipping, the total weight represented by the exports and imports, and his results may, I think, be taken as being approximately correct.

He estimates the total weight of our exports and imports as having been, for—

1880	53,000,000 tons.
1890	76,500,000 „
1900	102,500,000 „

So that they have practically doubled in twenty years.

Taking another test—the total tonnage, steam and sailing, entered and cleared, with cargoes or ballast, at ports in the United Kingdom—Sir John Glover, in a most interesting paper read before the Statistical Society, gives the following figures:—

1850	32,634,000 tons.
1860	58,707,000 „
1870	73,198,000 „
1880	133,250,000 „
1890	164,340,000 „
1900	208,777,000 „

These figures, moreover, are exclusive of the tonnage of British vessels employed by Government in connection with the South African War.

Not only are the figures for 1900 enormous, and the greatest on record, but they show the largest

increase of any of the five decades, with one exception.

Moreover, as Sir John points out, though it is true that the growth of foreign tonnage in our ports has been large, "the corresponding growth under our own flag has been such that the proportion of 34·89 per cent in 1850 is only 36·35 in 1900." This result is the more surprising when we remember the bounties and other artificial advantages by which foreign Governments have attempted to foster their mercantile marine. Take France, for instance. Sir John says—

> It would appear that the British tonnage in French ports exceeds by one-half all other foreign tonnage put together, and by about the same proportion does it exceed the tonnage under the national flag. . . . It is difficult to see what benefit the French Government and people have derived from the large sums paid in postal subsidies and in bounties for construction and navigation.

Between 1890 and 1900, he continues,

> French imports and exports increased only 12 million pounds sterling, from 327 to 339 million pounds. That is a poor result, seeing that the French Government paid during the ten years 1891-1900 in bounties for construction and navigation nearly 5¼ million pounds sterling, in addition to over 10 million pounds sterling in subventions for postal services. It is also significant that the total entries and clearances of French shipping at French ports in 1890 was 9,254,879 tons, and in 1899 only 10,137,277 tons, and that the percentage of tonnage entered and cleared under the French flag in French ports fell from 31·9 in 1890 to 28·4 in 1899. The total tonnage of the French mercantile marine is given at 932,735 for 1889, and 957,755 for 1899. These cannot be regarded as encouraging facts for States which are contemplating the adoption of the bounty system against us.

Sir John appears rather surprised that the bounties, subsidies, and other advantages given to French shipping have had so little effect.

Is not the explanation that, while the French shipowners have enjoyed substantial advantages, on the other hand they have been burdened by bounties, subsidies, and protection given to beetroot sugar, wheat, textiles, coal, metals, and various other industries? I know of no figures enabling us to estimate these; but is not the problem whether the advantages they receive equal the disadvantages and burdens imposed on them by the bounties and protection granted to other trades?

If our shipowners receive no bounties, they are, at any rate, not burdened by contributions to bolster up other trades.

The French wine-growers, I understand, are now agitating for bounties. They urge, not unnaturally, that if they are taxed to support other trades they should themselves receive corresponding treatment.

But if all trades are equally protected, our manufacturers and merchants will pay with one hand what they receive with the other. Or rather they will pay more and receive less, because they will have to support an army of officials and custom-houses, with all the expense and loss of time of declaring values, official examinations, and all the tedious routine which is such an impediment to commerce.

No doubt if one trade is unduly favoured, industry may be diverted into directions where full

benefit cannot be taken of the special advantages of the country.

The United States have unfortunately embarked on the same unwise course. No doubt the coddled industries have benefited. But will other United States interests remain permanently passive? Will not the unprotected trades claim similar privileges? Will the Western farmer be content to be taxed for ever for the benefit of the manufacturer? No doubt the United States have made great progress, not, however, as I believe, in consequence of, but in spite of their policy, and mainly owing to their immense tracts of virgin soil, the rapid increase of population, and the energy of their people.

Many people are alarmed because our imports so greatly exceed the exports. The explanation, however, is really very simple. The average difference for the last five years is £180,000,000. Now the Board of Trade estimate, and give good reason for estimating, the earnings of our ships at, in round figures, £90,000,000, and the interest on our foreign and colonial investments at another £90,000,000, which, therefore, together would just account for the difference.

But then the question arises, Has our trade been profitable? Is the country prosperous, or are we bleeding to death, as some allege? Here also the answer seems conclusive.

The Commissioners of Inland Revenue in their last report[1] say, that "the growth of income in

[1] 1903, Cd. 1717, p. 172.

recent years, as indicated by the Income Tax returns, has indeed been so remarkable that we venture to offer a few observations upon the subject.

"Taking the series of eight years ending 1901-02 (final figures are not available for 1902-03), and comparing it with an equal series in the period of greatest prosperity in past times, viz. the eight years from 1868-69 to 1875-76, we obtain the following results :—

	Gross Income brought under view of the Department.
1868-69	£398,794,000
1875-76	544,376,000
1894-95	657,097,000
1901-02	866,993,000

showing an increase in thirty-three years of £468,000,000, or, in other words, that our income has more than doubled.

"Six years ago, the assessment for Income Tax under Schedule D—that which comprises profits of trade—was £254,000,000; but last year it was £347,000,000, showing an increase of over £90,000,000 in six years. Or take the death-duties, which Mr. Gladstone used to regard as perhaps the best criterion of prosperity. The value of the estates liable to duty of which the Department had notice was in 1897 £247,000,000; in 1902 it was £270,000,000, showing an increase of £23,000,000."[1]

Moreover, they continue, "it must be remembered that in the years 1868-69 to 1875-76 an abnormal

[1] 1903, Cd. 1717, p. 86.

impetus had been given to our trade by various circumstances; by the enormous demands of the United States of America for steel and iron in connection with the extension of her railways, and other works of rehabilitation following on the Civil War; by the interruption of continental competition due to the Franco-German War; and by the numerous foreign loans raised in this country, and of which much was expended on products and manufactures of the United Kingdom."

Protectionists are in the habit of comparing the German and British commerce of 1872 with that of 1902. It must, however, be remembered that in 1872 German trade was injuriously affected by the Franco-German war, while in 1902 we were in the middle of the South African trouble.

It is possible that some part of the increase in the proceeds of the Income Tax may be due to more careful collection, but it cannot be doubted that the figures show a remarkable progress during the very period when we are assured that we have been "bleeding to death" under a system of "one-sided Free Trade."

The Atlantic Combine

Much has been said about the so-called purchase of some of the Atlantic lines. It is, however, rather a combination than a purchase. The money received by the shareholders has been raised by debentures, for which their shares are responsible. It is not really

a sale, but a return of capital. The ships, it is understood, will remain under the British flag. Whether the arrangement will eventually be for the advantage of the shareholders will depend on whether the economies will or will not make up for the expenses involved. The position is rather complex, for the combination is an American company, though the ships are under the British flag. Some of our friends are very anxious about our food supply in time of war. The arrangement seems to me, in that important aspect, very satisfactory, as we may feel confident that the United States could never permit the ships of an American company to be interfered with on the high seas.

But while I fail to see in the present position of our commerce and manufactures any reason for despondency or discouragement, we can only retain our position by the continued exercise in the future of the qualities by which it was created in the past.

Much might be done by—

(1) A wiser system of education, and especially more attention to—

1. Modern Languages.
2. Science and Technical Education.

(2) Strict economy in our national expenditure.

(3) Better relations between capital and labour.

Among other difficulties with which we have to contend might be mentioned our complex and peculiar system of weights and measures, the interference of national and municipal authorities, and unfair restrictions imposed by foreign countries.

Consul-General Michell[1] of St. Petersburg says, "One of the things that strikes nearly all travellers in Russia is the large number of travellers met, German, French, or American, and the remarkably small number of British representatives. . . . Another reason of the success of the Germans is the thorough way in which each traveller works his district, the fact that he generally has certainly two languages at his command, the fact that he never accepts 'No' as an answer, and also the amount of useful information about the country he already possesses before landing in the country itself. As an instance of this, I should like to quote a case I myself saw last winter. This was a young German travelling for a large German printing concern. He came of a good family, and was always very well turned out. He spoke, besides German, English and French fluently, and had a very fair command of Spanish and Danish, as also a smattering of Polish and Russian. His working hours were from 7 A.M. to 7 P.M. As soon as he arrived he got a good teacher and worked hard at the Russian language in the evenings. He came over with a list of most of the big Moscow houses and their standing. He stayed in Moscow three months, and when he left he told me he had an order from nearly every big house in Moscow, whence he proceeded to St. Petersburg, Riga, etc., to carry on the same work. This is but one example that happened to come under my personal notice,

[1] "Report on the Foreign Commerce of Russia," *Dip. and Cons. Reports*, No. 3062, 1903, p. 40.

but it serves to illustrate the manner in which the Germans work Russia. I need hardly add that he always quoted in kilos. and in roubles, prices lauded in Moscow."

Education

Our educational system will be dealt with in a subsequent chapter, and I will here only express my deep sense of the loss to our commerce which results from the neglect of modern languages and science.

It is no use sending commercial travellers into a country unless they know the language, and as long as our schools persist in neglecting, I might almost say ignoring, modern languages, it will be impossible for mercantile manufacturing houses to find suitable representatives.

No doubt in some important respects the recent advance of Germany is very remarkable.

To a great extent this must, I think, be attributed to the great advance they have made in technical science, an enquiry of great interest, as we cannot expect to hold our own unless our system of education is greatly modified. To compete in commerce without technical education would be like fighting a battle with bows and arrows against rifles and cannon.

We hear a great deal about "things made in Germany." Let us see whether we can in any way realise what technical instruction has done for Germany. We have some interesting figures in the Diplomatic and Consular reports issued by our

Foreign Office, especially those by Consul-General Oppenheimer, C. G. Schwabach, and especially in that by Dr. Rose of Stuttgart.

In the case of sugar the strontium process seems to be a great improvement, and no less than 90 per cent of the sugar is now obtained by it. Among artificial sweetening substances I may refer to saccharine.

Liebig's discovery, as it may fairly be called, of superphosphate of lime in 1840 has created a great industry. In 1867 the production was 1000 tons; in 1899 it was no less than 750,000. Another result is the application of the ground slag of the Thomas Gilchrist steel process to manuring purposes.

As regards colouring matters, aniline was discovered by Runge; and Mansfield, working in Hoffmann's laboratory devised a process by which benzol could be produced from coal-tar on a large scale, thus rendering the production of aniline a commercial success. Perkin discovered mauveine in 1856, and we might have hoped to retain the industry which thus originated here, and which we have unfortunately lost. It is now most important. The artificial alizarine colour has practically replaced madder. In 1870 France produced 25,000 tons of madder, which gradually fell to a few hundred, and now even the trousers of the French troops are dyed with artificial red "made in Germany." The value of the organic dyes made in Germany in 1898 was no less than £6,000,000. A new method of making artificial indigo, said to be in every respect as good as the

natural Indian dye, threatens the very existence of that great industry. The German dye-works employ about 20,000 men, over 500 academically trained chemists, several millions of capital, and are very profitable.

Perfumery is a smaller industry, but has made great strides, though full statistics are not available. I may mention, however, that the cost of vaniline has been reduced from £350 per kilo. to £6, and that the export of essential oils amounted to over £100,000. In medicines chloral and chloroform were discovered by Liebig, antipyrine by Knorr, and sulphonal by Baumann. Germany now produces 70 per cent of the quinine of the world and exports 65 per cent, valued at £350,000. Of smokeless powder she exported £260,000, and of other explosives, cartridges, etc., £650,000; of cellulose £1,600,000; of soluble glass 6000 tons; of ultramarine 3000 tons; of stearic acid 10,000 tons; of glycerine 5000 tons; of matches 1600 tons; of oxalic acid £650,000; of oils 70,000 tons; of white lead £218,000. I will only mention one other product which is specially interesting, namely, liquefied carbonic acid. This remarkable industry only commenced practically in 1884, when 100 tons were produced; in 1891 this had risen to 3000, in 1897 to 11,000, and in 1898 to 16,000 tons, of which Berlin alone consumed 1800 tons, or 2 lbs. of liquefied carbonic acid per head! Fifteen years ago the price was 1s. a pound, from which it fell to about 2d. The export for 1890 amounted to 4000 tons, valued at £375,000.

Taken altogether these chemical industries reached a value of over £50,000,000, and the results of the discoveries in electricity, metallurgy, etc., must also be placed to the credit of science and scientific education.

It is evident, then, that the technical instruction of Germany has been a very remunerative investment; in the first instance a great national advantage, but a boon also to the world as a whole.

The powers of enchanters were nothing to those of science. Science turns every stone into a philosopher's stone—turns everything into gold.

A development of commerce, won, and fairly won, by science and skill, cannot be met by protection. To technical education Germany owes much, and if we wish to hold our own we must follow her example. But I believe her success would have been even more striking if her trade were free as well. In the long run Germany will inevitably have to pay dearly for her protective policy.

National and Municipal Expenditure

The enormous increase in our national and municipal expenditure is another great difficulty. It does not, indeed, handicap us in relation to France, Germany, or Russia, for they are as heavily burdened as we are; but unless great reductions are made we cannot expect our manufacturers to compete successfully with those of the United States or of our Colonies.

Labour Disputes

Our foreign consuls in their interesting reports frequently call attention to the fact that our manufacturers have lost valuable orders because they cannot undertake to complete contracts so quickly as foreign firms. This applies especially to ironwork, bridges, locomotives, etc.

It is due in some cases to the fact that our manufacturers were full of orders, and so far may be regarded as a matter of congratulation, but unfortunately in others the reason has probably been that the danger of strikes compels them to allow a larger margin of time than would otherwise be necessary. Strikes have unquestionably exercised, and the fear of them is exercising, a disastrous influence on our manufacturers, and though in some cases the immediate effect may have been a rise in the rate of wages, it has been dearly bought. There has been a great loss while the men have been standing idle —besides which, strikes have driven much capital abroad. They handicap our manufacturers, and I am convinced that if we had had no strikes there would have been more capital engaged in manufactures, more employment, and greater demand for men—that, in fact, the permanent effect has been not to raise, but to lower, the rate of wages.

It is satisfactory from this point of view that, for the moment at all events, labour disputes appear to be diminishing. The total number for 1902[1] was comparatively small, and though a larger number of

[1] *Report on Strikes and Locks-Out in the United Kingdom in* 1902.

work-people were affected than in the five preceding years, the aggregate number of working days lost, which is the best test of the importance of a dispute, was not only less than in 1901, but was below the average for the five years covered by the Report. Altogether there were 442 new disputes in 1902, involving about 260,000 work-people, or about 2·9 per cent of the industrial population of the United Kingdom. With respect to the results of the disputes, omitting those disputes which broke out between different classes of work-people and in which employers were only indirectly interested, the balance of results in the remainder was distinctly on the side of the employers.

As usual, the mining and quarrying trades were marked by more disturbance than any other industry, and in these trades more than 200,000 persons were affected by disputes, or 81 per cent of the total number of persons involved in disputes during the year. Questions of wages were the most frequent cause of disputes, though not to quite such a marked degree in 1902 as in preceding years. Thus, of the total of 442 disputes in 1902, 267, or 60 per cent, arose under this head, but these embraced only 48·6 per cent of the persons directly concerned in disputes. Disputes resulting from demands for increased wages embraced 26·8 per cent of all the persons involved in wages disputes, while resistance to reductions in wages included 45·9 per cent. Altogether rather more than 56,000 work-people were involved in wages disputes affecting 5525 persons; and the

percentage settled in favour of the employers was 30 per cent; in favour of the workmen, 31 per cent; compromised, 30 per cent. Thus far the two previous years bore about the same proportion.

It is to be remarked that many labour disputes are not between employers and employed, but arise from refusals to work with non-union men and other questions of trade-union principles, the proportion so involved being 21·8 per cent of all those directly engaged in the whole of the disputes of the year. The great bulk of the disputes were, as has been the case in previous years, ultimately settled by direct negotiation between the parties concerned or their representatives. Thus out of 442 disputes, 316, or 71·5 per cent, were settled in this way, embracing 86·7 per cent of all the persons involved; only sixteen disputes were settled by arbitration, and these affected only 1·75 per cent of the work-people involved in disputes, while thirteen disputes were settled by conciliation, in which 2·78 per cent of work-people were returned to work on the employers' terms without negation, and in forty-seven cases they were replaced by other workers.[1]

But though the number of disputes has diminished, the loss is still considerable. Mr. Llewellyn Smith in his Report estimates the number of days lost in 1902 as 3,479,255, which we make roughly as representing a loss of wages of considerably over £500,000. He also informs us that the balance of the results was distinctly in favour of the employers.

[1] *Charity Organisation Review*, August 1903, p. 70.

We cannot, moreover, take the loss to employers at less than that to the employed, so that we may safely estimate the total loss to the country as considerably over £1,000,000. Matters might, however, have been worse, and it is satisfactory to hear that "Boards of Conciliation and Arbitration are known to have settled 673 cases during the year, in nine only of which had a stoppage of work taken place."

Strikes are certainly the worst way of settling such disputes, and I am convinced that their net result has been to drive away trade, and, on the whole, to lower wages. In the interests alike of employers and employed it will be well if wiser and more conciliatory counsels prevail in the future.

Foreign unfair Arrangements

In the following chapter will be found some illustrations of unfair regulations made by foreign governments. To these might indeed be added the cases in which they exclude our goods by the imposition of high duties. Still so far as they do this at home they injure themselves, and we have perhaps no right to complain.

On the other hand, the case is different in such cases as the annexation of Madagascar by France, and of parts of China by Russia. Before this was done we had a fair field in these countries. Now the Malagasy and the people of North China are compelled to take French or Russian goods respectively. This is not only unfair to us; it is an injury also to

Germany, Japan, the United States, and other countries. Their interests are the same as ours. We may point out that in India and the Crown colonies we place French and Russian commerce at no disadvantage. The treatment we accord to them in our territories surely we may fairly claim in theirs.

I trust our Government will hold fast by the policy of the open door; and in the case of North China, for instance, will urge the United States, Japan, and other countries to join us in insisting that the commerce of the world shall have fair play.

Consul-General Michell[1] of St. Petersburg says, the "dependence on our part on the most-favoured-nation clause of our treaty with this country does not in many cases effectually serve as a protection of our commercial interests in Russia, for in regard to several classes of goods which Germany does not produce and export, but which the United Kingdom does, no special agreement was concluded under the Commercial Convention still in force between Germany and Russia, and consequently the duties leviable on such goods would be those imposed at comparatively higher rates under the general customs tariff of the Empire. Thus the most-favoured-nation clause of our treaty becomes inoperative where German interests are not concerned."

Weights and Measures

As regards our weights and measures, a committee has been appointed by the Associated Chambers of

[1] "Report on the Foreign Commerce of Russia," *Dip. and Cons. Reports*, No. 3062, 1903, p. 14.

Commerce to consider in what way the metric system can be adapted to British traditional usages, and what steps can be taken to introduce the system into practical use. A very useful table has been adopted by the committee, and they are in communication in the first instance with the London Chamber, with the view of obtaining expert evidence from different trades on the subject.

Government and Municipal Interference

Have we not carried the system of government and municipal supervision perhaps too far? Personally I have found inspectors merciful, but their powers are tremendous! In another chapter I have dealt with the question of municipal trading.

Those connected with the electrical industry especially complain of the manner in which it is being hampered, and indeed in some respects almost strangled.

The Nature of Trade

It is often said that we are a nation of shopkeepers. Yet our countrymen and countrywomen seem to have very vague ideas as to the nature of business.

They seem to think that our great cities are paved with gold, and that we have nothing to do but to go there and pick it up; whereas successful business means hard work, however able a man may be.

They seem to think that speculation is business;

while we know that successful business means moderate profits, while speculation almost always ends in the bankruptcy court.

They seem to think, like the proverbial apple-woman, that any business which is large enough is sure to leave a profit.

They seem to think that if one person makes a profit some one else must suffer a loss; while we know that if a business is to last it must be advantageous to both sides.

They seem to think that the requisites to make a good man of business are cleverness, and smartness almost amounting to a want of scruple; while we know perfectly well that the requisites for success in business are tact and energy, prudence and honesty.

They seem to think that the palmy days of English commerce are past and gone, that we are being undermined and ruined by foreign competition; while we know that on the whole we are doing pretty well, and have little to complain of.

Commercial Morality

We often hear unfavourable opinions expressed as to commercial morality. In this respect the commercial community contrasts very favourably with Governments. It may well happen that from unfavourable harvests, or defeat in war, a country may be compelled to appeal to the forbearance of its creditors. Such, for instance, has been the case with Argentina and Brazil, but they have fulfilled their

obligations as soon as circumstances permitted. Turkey and Egypt found themselves unable to pay in full, but made reasonable arrangements with their creditors to which they have honourably adhered.

But unfortunately there is a long list of other countries—Portugal, Greece, Peru, Colombia, Costa Rica, Equador, Guatemala, Honduras—which have grossly robbed those who trusted them.

No respectable firm or company would, I believe, have acted so dishonestly.

No doubt there are, unfortunately, disgraceful failures of firms and companies. But it must be remembered that successful concerns pursue the even tenor of their way, while bankrupt concerns at once figure in the newspapers. Many of our firms and companies are more than a century old. That to which I have the honour of belonging dates back to 1770.

Moreover, it will be found that with the worst failures our real men of business have had nothing to do. No bankers, merchants, or shopkeepers figure on their Boards. Designing speculators and unwary dupes form speculative, or even fraudulent, companies, and then, forsooth, we are told that commercial morality is at a low ebb!

Some years ago the London Chamber appointed a committee on this subject of secret commissions. They went carefully into the subject, and made a most valuable report, the result of which was that Sir E. Fry drew up a Bill which was introduced into the House of Lords by the late Lord Russell. The

Lord Chancellor thought it too drastic, and preferred a shorter and simpler Bill, which would, I believe, go far to meet the evil. It has been carried through the House of Lords, and it is greatly to be hoped that the Government will realise the importance of the subject and make time to carry it through the House of Commons.

Commerce, Literature, and Science

It is sometimes supposed that men of business are indifferent to literature and science. On the contrary, I believe that they have contributed fully their fair proportion to our illustrious list of authors and discoverers. No doubt business is absorbing, but is not Sir W. Huggins, the present President of the Royal Society, a brewer, and the late treasurer, Sir John Evans, a paper-maker. Without mentioning more among the living, George Grote and Hodgkin the historians, Rogers and Praed the poets, and my father, were bankers, Lassell was a brewer, and Prestwich was a wine-merchant before he became Professor of Geology at Oxford.

Conclusion

On the whole, then, I think we have no reason either to be alarmed about or ashamed of British commerce and manufactures. Foreign manufacturers all proclaim that unless protected by heavy duties they cannot hope to compete with ours successfully. That very protection, however, tends to shut foreign

goods out of neutral markets, and the result of such a policy is to injure the protective country more than us.

At the same time, I have made some suggestions, and indicated certain changes which seem to me well worth considering in the interests of our merchants and manufacturers.

X

OUR FISCAL POLICY

In the previous chapter I have discussed the present position of British commerce and manufactures, and endeavoured to show that there is no serious reason for discouragement. We ought, however, to do all in our power to stimulate and develop them, and many think that this might be effected by a change in our fiscal system.

It seems curious that so many of those who desire protection announce themselves as convinced free traders. Indeed Dr. Cunningham, in his paper read before the British Association at Southport,[1] announced that it was "because he was attached to free trade that . . . he was eager for England to reconsider her fiscal policy." He spoke of our present system as "exhausting us."

This problem now before the country must be considered from two different aspects. It is partly commercial, and partly political. There are some who, while they would regret on fiscal grounds any change in our system, are ready to consider in a friendly spirit any wishes expressed by the colonies,

[1] *Times*, Sept. 16, 1903.

and who may be willing to make some concession of their economical convictions if by doing so they can induce the colonies not, indeed, to erect additional barriers against foreign countries, but to make some substantial progress in the direction of free, or at any rate freer, trade with the mother country. I confess I have been much surprised to see in the Press, and to hear in conversation, doubts so often expressed as to the wisdom of our free trade policy, and lugubrious apprehensions as to the present position and future prospects of our commerce and manufactures.[1] No doubt competition is very severe, and if we are to hold our own we must throw away no opportunity. While, however, there is every reason for industry and exertion, there seems to me no ground for despondency, nor any economic reason for changing the fiscal policy of the country. Our manufacturers are sometimes criticised for a want of energy and adaptiveness, but at any rate foreign manufacturers do not venture, if they can help it, to compete with ours without claiming protection. Now what is the present position? How does our commerce stand? The total of our exports and imports last year was the largest volume of commerce ever transacted by either our own or any other country in the history of the world. The policy of free trade must, indeed, it seems to me, stand or fall by general considerations. The problem

[1] This was of course written before Mr. Chamberlain's recent speeches. I sympathise with his desire for closer relations with the Colonies, but his views as to the unsatisfactory position of our commerce seem to me quite inconsistent with the official statistics.

is extremely complex; allowances must be made for increase of population, for new processes, for improvements in the steam-engine, economies in manufacture and transport, and the figures are liable to many considerations from other points of view. For instance, rise or fall of ½d. a pound in the average price of raw cotton imported annually into the country makes a difference in our imports of £3,500,000, and since 1870 the price has varied from 10d. to 3d. a pound.[1] Still, the statistics given in the preceding chapter are remarkable, and they seem to me conclusive.

Another test is to take the figures per head. The special exports per head for the last five years were: United Kingdom, £5 : 19 : 5; France, £3 : 15s.; Germany, £3 : 7 : 2; United States, £2 : 18 : 4. But then the question arises: Has the trade been profitable? Here also the figures already quoted seem conclusive.

Mr. Balfour tells us[2] that, "judged by all available tests, both the total wealth and the diffused well-being of the country are greater than they have ever been. We are not only rich and prosperous in appearance, but also, I believe, in reality. I can find no evidence that we are 'living on our capital,' though in some respects we may be investing it badly. Why, then, it is asked, do we trouble ourselves to disturb a system which has been so fruitful in happy results?"

Why indeed! It is not, he tells us, that we are

[1] *The Cotton Trade and Protection*, p. 2.
[2] *Economic Notes on Insular Free Trade*, p. 28.

suffering now; indeed he admits that we are prosperous. Well, then, why not leave well alone? He continues, "The source of all the difficulty being protective tariffs"; but I must interrupt him to ask, "What difficulties?" He has just admitted that there is none now, but he fears there may be.

That is no doubt true, but would protection help us? What is his remedy? The only alternative, he says, "is to do to foreign nations what they always do to each other, and instead of appealing to economic theories in which they wholly disbelieve, to use fiscal inducements which they thoroughly understand."

Certainly it is well to look ahead, he continues, and "the source of all the difficulty being protective tariffs imposed by fiscally independent communities, it is plain that we can secure no concession in the direction of a freer exchange except by negotiation, and that our negotiations can but appeal to self-interest or, in the case of our colonies, to self-interest and sentiment combined."

This plan, however, has been tried by Germany, France, Russia, and other protectionist countries, but has completely failed. If, however, any of them did succeed we should, under the favoured nation clause, secure the same advantage. Whatever concession they got for themselves they would get for us also.

I must, however, admit that Russia has not carried out in the spirit the undertaking to give us "favoured nation" treatment. She makes a difference between goods coming by land and those

arriving by sea. As our goods naturally arrive by sea, and those of Germany by land, this by a side wind deprives us of our right.

The valuable Report which has recently been issued by the Board of Trade, under the able supervision of Sir A. E. Bateman, includes the following table,[1] which has been frequently copied, but which does not, I think, bear out the conclusions which have been drawn from it:—

	Principal Protected Countries and Colonies.	All other Countries and Colonies.	Total to all Countries and Colonies.
A.—Exports of all Articles of British Produce.	Per Cent.	Per Cent.	Per Cent.
1850	56	44	100
1860	51	49	100
1870	53	47	100
1880	49	51	100
1890	46	54	100
1900	45	55	100
1902	42	58	100
B.—Exports of manufactured and partly manufactured Articles.			
1850	57	43	100
1860	50	50	100
1870	50	50	100
1880	47	53	100
1890	42	58	100
1900	38	62	100
1902			

The table shows, what no one would deny, that protection duties tend to check imports. It does not, however, indicate that our commerce with pro-

[1] Page 16.

tectionist countries has diminished. Take, for instance, Germany, France, and Belgium.

The total value of our British produce exported was as follows :[1]—

To	Germany	1892	£17,600,000	1902	£22,900,000
„	France	„	14,700,000	„	15,600,000
„	Belgium	„	6,900,000	„	8,400,000
„	Russia	„	5,400,000	„	8,600,000
„	Italy	„	5,600,000	„	7,400,000
			50,200,000		£62,900,000
		Increase	12,700,000		
			£62,900,000		

The increase therefore has been large, though not all that could be desired.

The Prime Minister does not, as I understand, propose the imposition of protective duties on food or raw materials.

This, then, only leaves manufactured and semi-manufactured articles.

Many things which, however, are classed under the head of "manufactured and semi-manufactured articles" are in reality raw materials. For instance, the class includes sawn timber, yarns, and pig-iron.

These are really raw materials. The Board of Trade Report gives interesting particulars showing how in many cases these German protection duties injure Germany and benefit us. They quote[2] a remark by M. Sayous in his work on German

[1] *Statistical Abstracts for the United Kingdom*, 1903, p. 107.
[2] Page 302.

trade that foreigners—*i.e.* foreigners to Germany—"are able to purchase from the German mines, blast-furnaces, and steel works at prices materially lower than we (*i.e.* Germans) can buy, and on the basis of these purchases of materials the state of the foreign market for our (German) finished manufactures becomes increasingly bad."

So in regard to the paper-making trade, M. Raffalovich relates that "in order to clear the home market of stocks, the Kartell presses the export trade; paper is offered for export at 10 to 15 per cent less than the home trade price; the wholesale dealers at Hamburg get for 19 or 20 pfennigs what is sold at 22 or 23 to German buyers in the home trade. But since some of these German buyers are manufacturers of paper goods, who export one-half of their output, they find themselves in a condition of inferiority in foreign markets which are supplied by the Kartell on better terms than themselves."

The German manufacturers who work up half-finished steel products complain "that sales had been made abroad at very low prices, far below the prices ruling in Germany (*e.g.* blooms f.o.b. 80, and, subsequently, 72 marks), which made it possible for the Belgian and English rolling-mills to lower their prices, and quite ruined the (German) foreign market, with consequent evil results to the German manufacturers who work up half-finished metal products."

One result of this has been that "the building of boats for the Rhine river navigation has passed over

almost entirely to Holland, because the works in the Rhenish-Westphalian district producing heavy plates deliver in Holland at lower prices than in the interior of Germany."

And the Report concludes this part of their enquiry by the remark that our makers of tin plates and sheets "would at certain times have been placed in a position of some difficulty if they had not been able to reckon on foreign supplies for keeping their works in full activity."

Again, the report for 1902 of the Cologne Chamber of Commerce complains that German half-manufactured wire goods "are sold in the trade centres of England at 10s. a ton less than in Germany," and the result is that "the German finished wires cannot be exported to Great Britain," and of course are heavily handicapped elsewhere. So also "the members of the Kartell of the heavy plate trade, who buy steel from the Kartell of the half-finished steel trade, complain 'that their Belgian rivals, who are working up German materials, have a cost of production lower than their own by 10 marks.'"[1]

Thus, as the Report points out,[2]

> One striking result of the dumping policy of the Kartells, of which some examples have already been given, but which deserves further illustration, is that by supplying manufacturers abroad with materials at low prices, the German syndicates make it possible for these foreigners to compete on very favourable terms with their rivals in Germany in regard to the sale of finished products.

Thus, while their artificial and elaborate system

[1] Report, *loc. cit.* p. 305.

[2] Report, *loc. cit.* p. 304.

has artificially fostered and coddled some of their trades, it has injured and practically destroyed others.

The effect of the German system on our manufacturer is more fully dealt with in a subsequent part of the report, which is most interesting. For instance, the writer quotes[1] *Ryland's Circular* of November 9, 1901, as expressing the opinion that "we require all the steel and pig-iron they are sending us, as it is impossible to get from our own blast-furnaces and steel works sufficient ingots, blooms, or forge pig-iron to keep our works going. Competition could not have come at a better time, and we can rely upon the German steel as well as we can upon our make."

In the summary for 1901 the *Circular* says :—

> During the months of August, September, October, and November, large quantities of German steel were sent into the country at prices which left a good profit for our manufacturers here when they were rolled down. This German steel found its way to every steel-making centre. . . . Many sheet mills would have had to have stopped in consequence of the high price of pig-iron if it had not been for German steel, and it cannot be said that the late advent of German steel has done any harm, but that it has actually supplied a want.[2]

On January 11, 1902, the *Circular* complains that the steel sheet branch "bids fair to be troubled on account of the withdrawal of the German sheet bar makers." On December 27, 1902, it reports that "German steel has continued to play a prominent part in bars, sheet and other rolled sections, and

[1] Report, *loc. cit.* p. 309. [2] Report, *loc. cit.* p. 345.

has been profitably worked up in nearly every district in England."

I have dwelt upon this because it is so important to realise the real effect of these semi-manufactured articles, and I might quote other passages which are given in the report, but the above are sufficient to show that our manufacturers and consumers have in some directions greatly benefited by the cheap half-manufactured materials with which Germany has supplied us. I have already quoted a remark as to the effect on the Rhine shipbuilding trade, and as regards shipbuilding in general the figures are a striking comment on the protectionist policy of Germany, France, and the United States.

The importance of these considerations is well shown in the magnitude of the figures. The Board of Trade tells us that in consequence partly of getting "semi-manufactured" articles cheaply we built in 1901 over 980,000 tons of shipping, against 102,000 built in Germany, 106,000 in France, and 469,000 in the United States; so that we built more than Germany, France, and the United States put together.[1]

It is sometimes asserted that by permitting complete freedom in commerce a country may be undersold in all its industries. This is, however, as Mr. Armitage Smith has clearly pointed out, "an impossibility, since it would imply importing without exporting; but trade is exchange, the nation that buys must sell: the one fact is the correlative of the other. A nation with nothing to offer cannot buy, and if

[1] Board of Trade Report, Cd. 1771, p. 379.

foreign goods come into a country some other articles must go out in exchange."[1]

Then again, it is said that we import some things which we might produce at home. This is true, no doubt, to some extent. Machines invented in America, chemical products discovered in Germany, might no doubt be reproduced here, and it is to be hoped that in time they will be.

But, with one exception—namely, the trade which Germany owes to her technical education—if any class of goods are largely and continuously imported, it will almost invariably be found that this is because the country from which they come has some natural advantage.

Under these circumstances, to produce them here would be no benefit. It is best for all that every country should produce those articles for which it is best suited. Free trade secures this. Protection, on the contrary, forces some of the capital and labour of a country into less profitable channels at the expense of the community.

Suppose, for instance, a country A exports £5,000,000 of goods (y) to B, and imports £5,000,000 of other goods (z) from B in payment. It may be assumed that A and B have each some advantage as regards the goods which they respectively export. It is said that A would be better off if it produced for itself the £5,000,000 of goods (z). Is this so?

The capital and labour required to produce the

[1] *Free Trade Movement and its Results*, p. 103.

goods (*z*) would by the hypothesis produce less in the country A.

Let us suppose they produced £4,500,000, or nine-tenths.

The result would be, then, that in the first case we should, by the expenditure of a certain amount of capital and labour on things for which the country was suitable, produce goods (*y*) which would purchase £5,000,000 of goods (*z*). In the second case, by the same expenditure of capital and labour, we should ourselves produce goods (*z*) to the amount of £4,500,000. Therefore we should be worse off to the extent of £500,000.

If, indeed, there were no imports, we should be giving away our exports, which nobody would propose.

But while I maintain that there are no grounds for the melancholy jeremiads we often hear with reference to our commerce, there is every reason to do all we can to maintain and improve it, and the question remains—Can this be done by legislation, by an alteration of our fiscal system, or by retaliation ?

There are certainly some respects in which, it seems to me, we have serious reason to complain.

Bounties, cartels, and syndicates have raised problems which did not exist in the time of Cobden and Bright. Sir E. Grey admits that "he could not imagine a case in which some foreign country might mete out to us treatment that was so obviously hostile and unfair that it would be impossible for us to sit still under it."

Cases have, it seems to me, arisen which give good ground of complaint, and would amply justify retaliation, though I should only advocate it as a last resort, hoping that our grievances may be redressed without our taking any such extreme step.

For instance, the House of Commons Committee on "Steamship Subsidies" report [1] that—

> One great contributory cause, with foreign subsidies, affecting British trade is the reservation by foreign nations of their coasting trade to their own ships. This may be regarded as an indirect subvention or subsidy. Although British coasting trade is absolutely open to vessels of all nations, many nations reserve the trade between their own ports to their own vessels. The United States extend the doctrine so as to declare a voyage from New York round Cape Horn to San Francisco, or from San Francisco to Honolulu, a "coasting voyage," and as such they restrict it to vessels carrying the United States flag. France refuses to allow any but French vessels to trade between French ports and Algeria. Russia, in reserving its coasting trade to its own flag, includes in this restriction the navigation between Russian ports in the Baltic and the Black Sea, and between all Russian ports and Vladivostok in the far east of Siberia. Such restrictions do seriously affect British trade.

The Committee came to the conclusion "that the occasion has come when the question . . . should be considered by His Majesty's Government, with a view to reserving the British and Colonial coastwise trades and the Imperial coasting trade within the British Empire to British and Colonial ships, and to vessels of those nations who throw open their coasting trade to British and Colonial ships."

The German position is put clearly enough

[1] Report of Committee on Steamship Subsidies, July 28, 1902.

by a recent writer in the *Neue Hamburgische Börsenhalle.* He points out that the law of May 22, 1881 provides that "The right to ship merchandise at a German seaport and convey it to another German seaport (the coastwise-carrying trade) is reserved exclusively for German ships."

But it is followed by the provision: "This privilege may be granted to foreign ships by a State treaty or by an Imperial ordinance, with the sanction of the Federal Council." An Imperial ordinance of this kind was issued on December 29, 1881, of which the following was the text:—"The right to ship merchandise at a German seaport and carry it to another German seaport (the coastwise-carrying trade) is granted to the vessels of Belgium, Brazil, Denmark, Great Britain, Italy, Sweden, and Norway."[1] This is fair, and I can hardly doubt that other countries will adopt the same course.

Again, the United States have imposed a duty of about thirty shillings on hemp shipped from the Philippine Islands. So far we have no right to complain. But this duty is returned on hemp shipped direct to the United States and employed by the United States manufacturers.

The hemp shipped from the Philippine Islands is known in the trade as Manilla hemp, and is largely employed in the manufacture of cordage and of binder twine.

Our manufacturers in the United Kingdom of

[1] "Shipping and Subsidies," by Benjamin Taylor, *North American Review*, April 15, 1903.

cordage and binder twine made from Manilla hemp have to compete with the United States manufacturers both in our home market and in neutral markets, handicapped by the preference of 30s. per ton enjoyed by the latter.[1]

These and other similar grievances require the attention of Government. They ought to be, and I trust will be, redressed. If not, the Foreign Governments concerned cannot complain if we think it necessary to take retaliatory measures. They should, however, only be adopted as a last resort.

Before adopting retaliation, however, it would surely be wise to consider whether it would be effective. The Board of Trade have a very interesting discussion on this point. It will be seen, they say,[2] "that 490,000 tons (or 36 per cent of the total) belong to countries having distant or over-sea possessions, and that of these 59,000 tons (or 4 per cent of the total) belong to the two countries which exclude, and 431,000 tons (or 32 per cent) to the five countries which permit, the participation of British ships in their colonial trade.

"It follows that if 'reciprocity' were a test for the admission of foreign vessels to our colonial trade, about 5 per cent of the foreign tonnage now engaged in that trade would be excluded."

The two most highly protected countries are Russia and the United States. Now, as Mr. Sydney Buxton has pointed out, out of our total imports from Russia, amounting to 25 millions, 23 or eleven-

[1] See a letter from Messrs. Malcolm and Co., July 27, 1902, published in the *Times*.

[2] Page 187.

twelfths consist of food or raw materials; while in the case of the United States, out of 127 millions (1902), 118 or over six-sevenths were also food stuffs or raw materials.

So far as general trade arrangements are concerned, foreign countries may be divided into two categories. Some—Holland, Denmark, and Turkey, for instance—treat us fairly. They impose certain specified rates of charge on all countries and all goods. Other countries, however, while ostensibly giving us the favoured-nation clause, and in fact imposing equal duties on all nations, place high, and sometimes prohibitive, rates on just those articles which we produce. Directly our manufacturers establish a trade in any article the duties on it are raised against them. Suppose we acted in the same way. Suppose, for example, we raised the duty on claret or hock—theoretically it would apply to the whole world, practically it would affect France or Germany alone. From this point of view we have, I submit, a weapon in our own hands which in the last resort we might use without affecting free trade. If we have nothing to give, we have much that we might take away. A special duty on hock or claret would no doubt be undesirable, and is not lightly to be contemplated; but it would not be protection. Protection is no remedy, and would only do harm.

We are told, indeed, that protectionist countries are far more prosperous than we are.

Let us, then, compare our exports and population[1] with those of protectionist countries.

[1] Stat. Abs. 1903, p. 11.

	Population.	Exports.
Under Free Trade—		
Britain . .	42,000,000	£280,000,000
Under Protection—		
France . .	39,000,000	161,000,000
Germany . .	58,000,000	222,000,000
United States .	79,000,000	304,000,000
Russia . .	135,000,000	76,000,000[1]

Thus if we take Germany, of which we hear so much, though they have 16,000,000 more people, their exports are £58,000,000 less than ours. The Germans are an intelligent, capable, and hard working people. We might well be satisfied if, man for man, our exports were equal to theirs; but as a fact, while our population is much smaller, our exports are much greater; and yet we are invited to abandon our own system and adopt theirs.

Suppose, for instance, that in consequence of any action by Germany we in retaliation put a heavy duty on toys, and induced capitalists to manufacture them here. Our capital and labour is all employed, so that the first effect would be to divert a certain portion of each from more remunerative employment. Suppose then that Germany gave way. The grounds on which we took action being removed, I presume the duties would be taken off, but the manufacturers who had been induced by the duties to set up works and machinery would be heavy losers, and would certainly consider that they had reason to complain. Moreover, when we speak of foreign countries shutting out our manufactures by protective duties, we

[1] Statistical Abstract, Foreign Countries (Cd. 1796), pp. 11, 49, 50.

must remember that, after all, these duties only refer to a part of the trade. Sir R. Giffen has brought this out very clearly. How small, he says, "the protected portion is in some cases is shown by the calculations of American statisticians that protected industries in the United States do not employ 5 per cent of the occupied population."[1] Moreover, some at least of the protective duties fail in their effect, because the industries do not as a matter of fact exist. Even in our colonies the protected industries are small. The colonies suffer by their policy more than we do. Protection is advocated on two inconsistent grounds. Even Mr. M'Kinley, for instance, in his message on the occasion of his taking office, spoke of "checking deficiencies in revenue by protective legislation, which is always the firmest prop of the Treasury," and yet extolled "the reciprocity law of 1890, under which a stimulus was given to foreign trade." Evidently, however, so far as it increases the revenue it does not serve as protection; and if it serves as protection it must evidently check, not encourage, foreign trade, so that it cannot give revenue.

Moreover, taxes on food are the worst of all. Taxes on food are, as Adam Smith said long ago, "a curse equal to the barrenness of the earth, or the inclemency of the weather." We are now, indeed, assured that protection would raise wages; but, writing in 1878, Sir James Caird[2] estimated that the wages of the agricultural classes had risen 60 per cent since the repeal of the corn laws; and

[1] *Nineteenth Century*, July 1903.

[2] "The Landed Interest."

Sir R. Giffen, in a paper on "The Progress of the Working Classes," read before the Statistical Society in December 1883, made a similar statement.[1]

Wages, in fact, were lower in the past when there were taxes on food. But suppose they did tend to raise wages, such a change would necessitate a rise in prices, and a rise in prices would, of course, seriously cripple our manufactures in the competition of the world. A difference has, I see, been drawn between raw materials and food. It is understood that the Government would not, under any circumstances, consent to tax raw materials. But, in the long run, a tax on food would hamper our manufactures in the same way as a tax on raw materials. The word Protection sounds well, but it is misleading. The fact is that a country can only protect one trade at the expense of the others. Germany, for instance, is held out to us as an example, because she subsidises her shipping, gives bounties to sugar-growers, protection to farmers, to metals, to textile and various other industries. But who pays? Germany cannot tax France, or Russia, or the British Empire. Her own people have to bear the expense. The unfortunate German manufacturer finds the food of his family and work-people raised by the protection of agriculture; his children have had to pay more for their sugar in consequence of the sugar bounties; his clothing, and that of those dependent on him, is dearer on account of the taxes on foreign tissues; he has to pay more than

[1] Quoted in *The Free Trade Movement and its Results*, by Armitage Smith, p. 170.

he need for any manufactures or machinery he has to buy; and he is taxed to promote canals and to subsidise steamship companies. Last, but not least, he has to watch and often to fight in the Reichstag, or there is no knowing what additional burdens might be imposed upon him. And, over and above all the other uncertainties of commerce, he never knows whether his own Government may not ruin him, either by subsidising some rival industry, or by depriving him of some special privilege.

In France, as we are told by M. Yves Guyot, who speaks with so much knowledge and authority,—

> The whole art of M. Méline, who has been the Protectionist leader for close 25 years, has consisted in uniting groups of often contradictory interests, paying court to them, effecting bargains between this and that party, always to the detriment of the consumer, who is the general public. The policy of studying the general interest is left out of account. "Betroot strikes a bargain with wine; cotton and iron come to an understanding." There in a nutshell you have the rôle which Protectionism plays in Parliamentary life.[1]

Protection, in fact, introduces a subtle and most dangerous form of bribery.

The result is that time and energy, which might otherwise be given to the business itself, is wasted, or worse, in the attempt to put pressure on Ministers or to influence Legislatures. The best thing Government can do for commerce is to let it alone. Trade is uncertain enough without these artificial complications. Under protection, in addition to all other problems, the merchant and manufacturer have to

[1] "Mr Chamberlain's Programme in the Light of French Experience," by Yves Guyot, *The Fortnightly Review*, July 1903, p. 4.

consider the intentions of Government and of Parliament. Parliament itself is distracted, and tempted by the claims of rival industries. The temptations to "log rolling" are greatly increased.

Moreover, it is far from effecting the object aimed at. The French have long been anxious to develop their mercantile marine, and with this object in view have given heavy subsidies.

As Mr. Armitage Smith says:

> France gives a bounty of some 65 frs. per ton on iron and steel ships. These vessels could be bought from the United Kingdom and the whole bounty saved; but for the satisfaction of building them in France the nation is taxed to nearly half their cost, shipbuilders alone being the gainers. Yet, according to Lloyd's Register, in 1895 the United Kingdom launched merchant shipping to the amount of 950,967 tons, while in the same period France launched only 22,000 tons, and in 1896 Great Britain completed 1,159,751 tons of merchant shipping, as against 365,000 tons by all other nations.[1]

In explanation of this remarkable fact it must be remembered that the French shipowner is handicapped by having to assist the sugar industry, iron and steel manufactures, agriculture, the textile and many other protected industries.

This is the reason, I believe, why the French bounties have done so little to increase French shipping.

We hear a great deal about the iron and steel industry of the United States, but a distinguished American economist, Mr. E. Atkinson, tells us that the result of the duties on iron and steel in the United States was, that in the ten years 1880-1890

[1] *Free Trade Movement and its Results*, by Armitage Smith, p. 126.

the railway companies, the iron-founders, machinists, and other consumers of iron in the United States paid for iron, in excess of the prices paid by their competitors in Europe in ten years, a sum greater than the capital value of all the iron and steel works, furnaces, and rolling mills existing in 1890 in the whole country. This sum stands for the cost of protection to iron and steel for ten years of largest consumption to that date.[1]

Moreover, these duties have crippled American industry in various ways. For instance, the "Atlantic Transport Line" recently had four similar ships built —two in Belfast and two in Philadelphia. The American-built ships cost £380,000 each, while the Belfast ones cost £292,000.[2]

As we hear so much about "things made in Germany," let us consider a moment our trade with that country.

We exported to Germany in 1902 goods to the value of £22,850,000—that country being one of our best customers. We also carried a vast quantity of German goods in British ships—much more than she carried of ours. No one, I presume, would suggest that we should supply these goods and perform these services gratis, and the more highly paid we are in reason, the better for us. This payment we receive in goods. If we received fewer goods, we should be less well paid. Why then should we complain of receiving so much—in other words, of being so well paid?

[1] *Retro-Active Influence of Duties upon Imports*, by E. Atkinson (Boston).

[2] "Shipping and Subsidies," by Benjamin Taylor, *North American Review*, April 15, 1903.

Canning once wrote—

> In matters of commerce the fault of the Dutch
> Is giving so little and asking so much—

but the complaint now made is that the Dutch and other foreigners will insist on paying us too much!

The principal complaints we hear are about woollen, cotton, and iron manufacturers. But if it be an injury to us to receive from Germany £1,500,000 of woollen manufactures, £1,100,000 of cotton do. and £600,000 of iron, we retaliate by dumping down on them £4,100,000 of woollen manufactures, £2,250,000 of cotton, and £1,000,000 of iron. Surely then from this point of view we have nothing to complain of?

Germany has no doubt made wonderful strides, owing in great measure, as I shall attempt to show, to her scientific progress; but her commercial position is artificial, and far from being satisfactory in all respects. She will inevitably find that her complicated system of bounties, and subsidies, and protection, helping one trade at the expense of a second, and then the second at the expense of the first—giving bounties to manufacturers at the expense of agriculturists, and protection to agriculturists at the expense of manufacturers—will lead her into more and more intricate embarrassments.

As our able consul at Frankfort, Mr. Oppenheimer, says in a recent report,—

> Under cover of the protectionist duties the syndicates were enabled to keep up prices at home in spite of the limited demand, whereby the several works were placed in a position to reduce their prices for the world's market, and were enabled more easily to compete. The difference of prices, however,

fixed by the same works for sales at home and sales abroad became so great that it produced very strong comments even in the Diet. . . . They sold raw material and half finished goods abroad at low prices, so that the home industries which worked off such raw materials, etc., were severely handicapped. These asserted (and not without reason) that the consumers of German material in foreign countries, especially in Holland and Belgium, were by these prices placed in such an advantageous position that it was most difficult, if at all possible, to compete against their prices.

Some cases actually transpired in which German "finishing" manufacturers had to decline orders owing to the exorbitant prices of raw material, which orders subsequently passed to Holland, Belgium, and the United Kingdom.[1]

But it is often said that while Free Trade would be good if adopted generally, it is a disadvantage if other countries are protectionists. On the contrary, Free Trade is best in any case. The more a country shuts up its own market, the more it excludes itself from others. Of this I have already given an instructive illustration from our shipbuilding trade (see pp. 175-187). By their heavy duties, France, Germany, and the United States have so raised the cost of the materials employed, that their shipbuilders find it impossible to compete with ours.

Look again at our trade with protectionist countries as against theirs with one another. In 1901[2] we sent £24,000,000 into France as against £15,000,000 from the protectionist country — Germany; and £18,000,000 from the United States. Into the protected market of the United States of America we sent £28,000,000 as against £20,000,000

[1] Diplomatic and Consular Reports, No. 3042. Trade of the Consular District of Frankfort-on-Main for 1902, p. 8.

[2] Stat. Abs. 1903, Table 21.

from Germany, and £15,000,000 from France. Lastly, into Germany nearly twice as much as France. Protection, therefore, has not given France, Germany, or the United States any advantage in each other's markets as against us.

Is the trade of other countries, on the whole, at the present moment more prosperous than ours? As regards Germany, the *Times* correspondent at Berlin recently reported (Nov. 13, 1902) that "the memorial which was recently presented to the Imperial Chancellor by the Commercial Treaties Association with reference to the tariff question is published this evening. . . . The association, which has only been in existence for two years, numbers 17,000 members and 19,000 adherents, who almost all belong to the industrial and mercantile classes. . . . They give employment to about 1,500,000 persons, on the earnings of whom it is estimated that 3,500,000 persons depend, so that the association may actually be said to represent the economic interests of 5,000,000 persons. Regarding the present economic condition of Germany, the memorial speaks as follows:—'For two and a half years the whole economic life of Germany has been in a condition which bears the character of a crisis. Although this crisis did not originate solely in the uncertainty with regard to commercial policy . . . that uncertainty has, nevertheless, beyond the possibility of a doubt, greatly contributed to intensify and prolong the crisis.' They, therefore, urgently request that, in view of 'the present altogether intolerable situation,' the existing treaties of commerce should be

prolonged for ten, or at least for five years, and they incidentally observe that a mere prolongation from year to year would simply be tantamount to the proclamation of a 'crisis in permanence.'" . . .

Most of our colonies also have unfortunately adopted the policy of taxing the farmer and the grazier to bolster up manufactories which can only be made to pay at the expense of the agricultural interest.

They sacrifice a guinea to make £1. We often hear complaints that we have only one-sided free trade, but free trade is good for a country whether other countries are wise enough to adopt it or not. Protectionist nations, in endeavouring to exclude foreign goods, tend to exclude themselves from foreign markets. The favoured-nation clause is the real sheet-anchor of our commerce. On that we must, and may fairly, insist both for ourselves and for our colonies. So far, moreover, is there any evidence that we are losing ground in India and the colonies? Not at all. In four years our imports into India have increased 10,000,000 tens of rupees; those of the whole of the rest of the world 5,600,000. Sir A. Bateman, in his admirable Memorandum,[1] says that the figures "do not show any displacement of the export trade of the United Kingdom in the period in question (fifteen years to 1900) by any one of our three principal competitors."

Lord Northbrook, in his interesting speech in the House of Lords on 10th July last (1903), showed

[1] Memo. on the Comp. Statistics of Population, Industry, and Commerce in the United Kingdom and some leading foreign countries, 1902, Cd. 1199.

clearly that India could gain little by a preferential tariff, and the same opinion has recently been expressed by the present Secretary of State for India (Lord George Hamilton). The same may be said with reference to the trade of this country with India. Our exports to India amount to no less than £37,500,000, against £9,200,000 from foreign countries. Of these, one-fifth, or £2,000,000, come from Austria-Hungary; of this, one-half, or £1,000,000, consists of sugar, which we do not produce here. The next largest importer into India is Russia, with £1,900,000, and out of that sum £1,870,000 consists of mineral oils, which we do not produce. The imports from Russia into India, therefore, with the exception of mineral oils, are practically *nil*. Germany's imports into India are £1,700,000, but over £300,000 consists of sugar, and a large portion of the rest is made up of other substances and products which we do not produce. The imports of the United States into India are £830,000, and there, again, £300,000 consists of mineral oils, so that the whole importation from the United States, except mineral oils, is only about £500,000. Of the £10,000,000 imported into India from foreign countries, £5,000,000 at least consists of articles which we do not produce.

It seems clear, then, from the figures that neither the trade of India, nor that of this country with India, would be substantially benefited by preferential trade.

Now let us take the case of Australasia. Into New Zealand and Australia our imports have in fifteen years increased £8,000,000, those of other

countries £6,000,000. If we compare our increase in Australia and New Zealand with that of a single country, even Germany, we find £8,000,000 against a German increase of £1,000,000. In fifteen years, with our colonies as a whole, the increase has been for the United Kingdom, £15,000,000; for Germany, £6,000,000; for France, £1,000,000. In fact, our competition in colonial markets is not so much with foreign manufacturers as with colonial producers. Moreover, what are the goods which foreign countries import into our colonies? As in the case of India, we shall find that they are mainly goods which we ourselves do not produce.

If we except Canada, which has naturally a large trade with the United States, even the whole imports of our colonies from foreign countries are comparatively small. This is well shown in the following table[1]:—

Imports in Millions Sterling (Statistical Abstract for 1901).

	United Kingdom.	Other European Countries.	United States.
New South Wales .	10·1	1·7	2·8
Victoria . .	7·2	1·4	1·5
South Australia .	2·2	·4	·6
Western Australia .	2·6	·4	·5
Tasmania . .	·6	·0	·1
Queensland . .	2·5	·3	·4
New Zealand .	6·9	·3	1·4
Natal . . .	6·6	·6	·7
Cape of Good Hope	14·2	1·8	1·9
Canada . .	8·9	3·6	22·7

[1] See Sir R. Giffen, *Nineteenth Century*, July 1903.

Evidently, therefore, any trade which a preferential tariff could transfer to us from other European countries is but small.

One central question on which the electors will have to make up their minds is, Can any country tax the foreigner? I believe not to any substantial extent. It seems to me clear that as a general rule the existence of a duty raises the price rather more than the mere amount of the duty. It has been said, indeed, that the price of wheat in France, where there is a duty, is sometimes no higher than in England, where there is none.

The answer is clearly given in the Board of Trade "Memoranda."[1]

"The degree of dependence of France," it is pointed out, "on foreign wheat supplies varies very greatly from year to year." It is therefore desirable to classify the years of the twenty-year period into two groups—(1) years of "minimum" importation, and (2) other years.

Even when the importation was at a minimum the price in France was substantially above that in England. When, however, France had a bad harvest, and consequently a considerable importation, the price was enhanced even more than the amount of the duty. The Report gives the following table :—

[1] Page 125.

	Excess of France over United Kingdom.		Difference between A and B.
	A Excess of Average Price of Wheat per quarter.	B Excess of Import Duty on Wheat per quarter.	
II. All other years of the series.[1]	s. d.	s. d.	s. d.
1883	2 8	1 1	−1 7
1884	5 8	1 1	−4 7
1886	7 6	5 2¾	−2 3¼
1888	11 11	8 9½	−3 1½
1889	12 4	8 9½	−3 6½
1890	12 2	8 9½	−3 4½
1893	11 5	8 9½	−2 7½
1897	13 7	12 2½	−1 4½
1898	11 8	12 2½	+0 6½
Average	9 11	7 5½	−2 5¼

[1] *Note.*—The years 1885, 1887, 1891, 1892, 1894, and 1902 are excluded, because changes of duty either in France or the United Kingdom took place in those years.

Thus "in every year but one in which the imports of wheat exceeded the above limit (30 per cent) the difference of price was greater than that of duty, the average difference of price being 9s. 11d., and of import duty 7s. 5½d." The average difference of price was therefore 2s. 5½d. more than the duty.

It seems evident, therefore, that taxes on food and manufactures must raise the prices of both. This is, of course, the free trade view, and it is also the view on which protection is based, for the object of protective duties is to shut out foreign goods, thus raising prices at the expense of the consumer for the benefit of the manufacturer.

What, then, will be the effect of the new policy?

Firstly, we shall have the expense of additional officials and custom-houses, which will involve no slight expense.

Secondly, it will be a considerable impediment to trade, because not only must bales, etc., containing the taxed articles be examined, but others also to see that they do not contain taxed goods. Besides which difficult questions will arise as to smuggling.

Thirdly, the agriculturists and other consumers will have to pay heavily for the benefit of the manufacturers.

Fourthly, the manufacturers and other consumers will have to pay heavily for the benefit of the agriculturists.

Fifthly, as the advantage or disadvantage to any class will depend on the amount of the protective duties they have to receive, as compared with those they have to pay, there will be a constant struggle in Parliament, and we have an alarming vista of bribery and corruption.

And sixthly, we shall raise acute and probably angry questions with foreign countries and our own colonies, some of which are amongst the countries with high protective duties.

So far then as the fiscal side of the question is concerned, though we have certain just grounds of complaint which, if unredressed, would fully justify retaliation, there is, I submit, no reason for any departure from the policy under which our commerce and manufactures have so greatly flourished.

The advantages of free trade are well illustrated by a story told of Mr. Bonar when he was negotiating the Austrian treaty of commerce. The Scotch were very anxious that the duty on British herrings should be reduced, and Mr. Bonar was instructed to urge this strongly on the Austrian Chancellor. The Chancellor said he was anxious to meet the views of our Government, but he asked, "In that case, Mr. Bonar, what will you do for us?" "Oh," said Mr. Bonar, "we will send you many more herrings."

The policy which would really benefit our country is not a return to Protection, but a better system of education, a reduction in military, naval, and municipal expenditure, and in more harmonious relations between capital and labour.

Coming to the political aspect of the fiscal problem, the desire for closer relations between different parts of the Empire is important and satisfactory. Canada has shown her friendly feeling to the mother country by granting our trade a preference, and we greatly appreciate this evidence of goodwill. Moreover, I am very pleased to see that Canada has herself benefited by the reduction. Our trade has increased £3,000,000 with Canada, and the result to Canada has been that her people have got an increased supply of cheap goods, her agriculture has benefited, farmers are flocking in from the United States and settling up the far west. If she would pursue the same policy further she would, I feel sure, inaugurate a period of immense progress and prosperity. Her farmers would save in the price of clothing, implements, machinery, and, in

fact, in all the manufactured articles they use, while they would get the same or even a better price for the produce of their land. But, unfortunately, the duties are in many cases still so high that even with the reduction of 25 per cent they are almost prohibitive. Now, if those on our goods are prohibitive, it does not help our trade to make those on foreign countries still higher. Before we can judge we must know, not only the difference between the duties on our goods and those of foreign producers, but also that between the duties on our goods and those of colonial producers.

I regretted a statement attributed, I hope, and cannot but think erroneously, to Mr. Seddon, that if we spurned the offer from New Zealand she would make overtures to other countries. We have, I need not say, spurned no offer from New Zealand. We are not yet aware that any offer has been definitely made, or, if so, what it is. But what have we done with reference to New Zealand? We have admitted her produce free, while she has taxed ours.[1]

We greatly appreciate the kindly feeling shown by Canada to the mother country in the preference given to British goods, and many are surprised that the result has not been greater. But this is easily explained.

There appears to be a general impression that Canada has favoured our commerce by admitting British goods at a rate 33 per cent below those of other countries. This is true, but it is not

[1] Since this was written the New Zealand Government have proposed to impose additional duties as against foreigners, leaving the present rates as against the Mother Country.

the whole truth. Canada admits some goods free, some at a light, and others at very heavy duties. The classes of goods which we import are unfortunately just those on which heavy duties are imposed.

Though it may seem a contradiction in terms, we may be given preferential rates, and yet duties might be so imposed as to fall specially on British goods. For instance, Canada has given us a preference, and we recognise it gratefully; but her fiscal system presses with special severity on British goods, and even after the preference we pay a higher rate than other countries.

This is clearly brought out in the Memorandum drawn up by the Board of Trade for the consideration of the Colonial Conference. They say :—

> Although British goods enjoy a preference compared with the same goods imported from other countries, the average *ad valorem* rate of duty on British imports taken as a whole is still higher than the average duty levied on all imports, and much higher than the average duty levied on imports from the United States.[1]

And they give the following figures for 1900-1901, bringing out this fact.

	Value of Imports.	Custom Duty collected.	*Ad valorem* Equivalent.
	£	£	Per cent.
Imports from United Kingdom . . .	8,839,000	1,612,000	18
Imports from United States . . .	22,702,000	2,735,000	12
All Imports . . .	37,241,000	5,981,000	16

Thus, in spite of the preference, our goods pay on

[1] Blue-book, Colonial Conference, 1902, Cd. 1299, 1902, p. 85.

an average 18 per cent of their value; those of the United States, on the contrary, only 12 per cent!

To estimate the value of a preference we must therefore know what the general tariff is to be.

Is the preference to be given by lowering the duties on our manufactures, and if so, at what are they to stand, or are the duties to remain at the present rate on our produce and to be raised as against foreigners? The effect in the two cases will be, of course, very different, and if the latter course were adopted the benefit to our trade would be very slight. Again, what articles were to be affected? I take it for granted that there cannot be one *ad valorem* rate. Foreign gold, for instance, cannot be taxed. As to future changes, the statements in the Blue-book are not definite enough to enable us to estimate their probable effect. For instance, the Cape and Natal foreshadow a difference of 25 per cent, but suggest that this is to be arrived at, not by lowering duties on our produce, but by raising those on produce from foreign countries; Australia says, "preferential treatment not yet defined as to nature or extent"; New Zealand suggests "a general preference of 10 per cent, either by reduction of the present duties, or by raising those on foreign produce"; but it is evident that it will make an immense difference to us which of these courses is adopted. Canada promises a further reduction, but does not say how much.

Do the colonies really wish to promote trade with the mother country? If so, they must entirely change

their policy, which has hitherto been to check it. We have given them long ago a free market for all their produce, while they almost all endeavour to exclude our manufactures by very high duties. We do not ask them to exclude foreign manufacturers. What we wish is that they should treat us as we treat them. Do their wisest statesmen ask us to do more than we have done? Sir Wilfrid Laurier has said that Canada gave us a preference because—"We looked carefully round the world, and we found England to be the only country which receives our products freely. We desired to show England our gratitude."

In his Liverpool speech Sir Wilfrid Laurier also said—"It is no intention of ours to disturb in any way the system of free trade which has done so much for England."

And in Canada he said that preferential treatment might be an advantage. "But we cannot have it so long as we have a protective tariff in Canada. . . . But the moment we are ready—it may take a long time, but I hope that some day it will come—to discard our tariff, the moment we come to the doctrine of free trade, then it is possible to have a commercial mutual preference based on free trade in the Empire."

Mr. Cook, in an interesting article on the subject, has quoted another speech of the same distinguished statesman. He was asked whether he was in favour of our imposing differential rates on foreign produce, and he said:—

> Well, no, perhaps not. If England were willing to give us a preference over other nations, taking our goods on exceptionally

favourable terms, I would not object. It would not be for Canada to shut herself out from the advantage. It would be a great boon for the time. But for how long would it last? Would it be an advantage in the long run? That is what men who think beyond the passing moment have to ask themselves. Suppose England did such a thing, and abandoned her free trade record. She would inevitably curtail the purchasing power of her people. And do you not think we should suffer from that, —we who alone have natural resources enough to feed your millions from our fertile lands? I have too great a belief in English common-sense to think that they will do any such thing. What we have done in the way of tariff preference to England we have, as I said, done out of gratitude to England, and not because we want her to enter upon the path of protection. We know that the English people will not interfere with the policy of free trade, and we do not desire them to do so. We know that buying more goods from England she will buy more from us, and so develop trade, and the moment trade is developed Canada is benefited.[1]

One difficulty as regards a preferential treatment of Canada is that, as Mr. Carnegie has pointed out,[2] for five months in the year, when Canadian ports are ice-bound, Canadian shipments reach Britain over American territory and through American ports."

To this it has been replied that Halifax and St. John are open all the winter, but Mr. Carnegie calculates in a subsequent letter[3] that the extra cost of transit would be "eight shillings a quarter as compared with exports and imports through Montreal or American ports." Unless, therefore, the preference amounted to a larger sum, the extra charge for freight would be prohibitive.

[1] Sir W. Laurier (Canadian Premier)—Answer to an Interviewer, 1897; quoted in "The Colonial View," by E. T. Cook, *The New Liberal Review*, July 1903, p. 760.

[2] *Times*, July 25, 1903.

[3] *Times*, August 6, 1903.

Mr. Seddon, also, though he is reported as having since expressed a somewhat different opinion, speaking at the New Zealand dinner, assured us that the New Zealand Government, in proposing to grant preference to the mother country, did so "in the spirit and desire to help—to give, and not a desire to take. They felt it was an opportunity to assist the mother country; it was love, and not sordid motives, that prompted the sending of the resolution."

The resolution adopted by the Colonial Prime Ministers at the Colonial Conference was, "That the Prime Ministers of the colonies respectfully urge on His Majesty's Government the expediency of granting in the United Kingdom preferential treatment to the products and manufactures of the colonies, either by exemption from or reduction of duties now or hereafter imposed."[1]

Excepting, however, in the case of alcohol, tobacco, tea, and sugar, there are practically no such duties; nor do these affect most of our colonies. A preference on tea would benefit parts of India and Ceylon; on sugar the West Indies and Queensland; but most of India and Australia, New Zealand, South Africa, and most of our other colonies would remain unaffected.

Our Government is enquiring, and it will be interesting to hear the final result, but it is still more important to ascertain the views of the colonies. Are they prepared to abandon protection and adopt free, or at any rate freer, trade within the Empire? If they are, it may be worth our while to meet them to

[1] Colonial Conference (Cd. 1299), 1902.

some extent. But if they are not, how can they expect us to depart from our present policy? It would be most unwise and ungracious to throw cold water on any real proposals for closer trade connection with the colonies. An appeal to the country on such an issue would be most unfortunate. On the other hand, how can the country be asked to abandon the policy of fifty years without knowing what is to be adopted in its stead? And yet, if we decide to maintain the existing system, we shall seem to flaunt, and shall certainly be told that we are flaunting, the colonies.

The Government are amply justified in negotiating. They have—as I have said—done so already.

Yet I confess I view with some alarm the prospect of bargaining with our colonies. We may seem to favour one colony, or one interest; and may find that, instead of closer union, we have roused jealousies, suspicions, and animosities. The colonies propose to give the mother country a preference. We welcome their intention. It is impossible—it would be most ungracious and unwise—to meet them by a simple *non possumus*. We must face the question. The Unionist Party feel, and are justified in feeling, great confidence in the Prime Minister, in the Duke of Devonshire, in Mr. Chamberlain, and the other Ministers.[1] If they could negotiate an arrangement with the colonies which, in their judgment, was fair and wise, I believe it would be one which the

[1] This was written before Mr. Balfour's and Mr. Chamberlain's speeches, and before the recent ministerial changes.

country might and would accept; but to go to the country on a mere question of preferential trade in the abstract would surely be unfair and unsatisfactory.

We ought not, it seems to me, to be expected to commit ourselves to any vague resolutions. For my own part, I am prepared to examine any proposals which would tend to develop our commerce with the colonies, and to strengthen the bonds which unite the various parts of the Empire. But till we know what the proposals are, we shall be wise to suspend our judgment, and to maintain our free trade policy. To promote closer union with the colonies is a great and noble object. The difficulties are great—they may be insuperable; but while the colonies may feel sure that we shall consider their suggestions in a friendly and sympathetic spirit, still as men of business they cannot expect us to do anything which will cripple or endanger that magnificent commerce on which the comfort and prosperity of our people so greatly depends.

XI

ON MUNICIPAL TRADING

The duties entrusted to our Local Authorities are of great complexity, difficulty, and importance. Not content, however, with the functions necessarily falling within their province, some municipalities have of late years launched out into extensive commercial operations.

The objections felt to this new departure are not founded in any way on mistrust of, or opposition to, municipal institutions. We fully recognise how admirably the members of municipal bodies have fulfilled the arduous and important duties which are entrusted to them, and the wish that they should have time fully to think out the various problems which come before them is one of the strong reasons which induce us to regret the course they have adopted. While, however, admitting to the full the abilities of those who belong to our municipal bodies, it does not necessarily follow that they have the special knowledge which is required to conduct manufacturing and business undertakings to a successful issue.

One result of the recent change in policy has

been an enormous increase of municipal indebtedness, which has of late years risen, and is rising, by a far higher ratio than the rateable value. As a whole, the indebtedness of the local authorities of England and Wales has risen from £198,000,000 in 1889-90 to £300,000,000 in 1900-1901, an increase in ten years of over £100,000,000.

It will be generally admitted to be most desirable that Municipal Councillors should be men of "light and leading"—men well informed and of experience.

But it will be found more and more difficult to secure such candidates if too heavy demands are made on their time, and especially if they are expected to carry on gratis immense business concerns.

Lord Rosebery long ago laid it down as one of the conditions of successful working of the London County Council that you "should not break the back of the Council." But have you not done so? In the debate on the London Education Bill, Sir H. Campbell-Bannerman spoke of "the overworked County Council," adding that "the duties are more trying than those undertaken by any other such body on the face of the earth." Again, in the same debate, Sir Edward Grey said, "No man could touch the work of education in London and do it properly, and give any attention whatever to the other work falling within the province of the County Council."

No wonder that Municipal Councillors change so frequently. So overwhelming is the work that, out of 140 original Councillors, after thirteen years only

twenty-nine remain! and it is becoming more and more difficult to obtain good candidates.

Coming to the financial aspect of the problem, there are no doubt many who honestly think that municipalities, by undertaking various businesses, may make a profit, and thus benefit the community in two ways—by supplying the necessaries and conveniences of life at low prices, and by reducing rates.

Others believe, on the contrary, that our municipalities have their hands full enough, that individual enterprise and the stimulus of individual interest enable private enterprise to work more economically than governments or municipalities, and that municipal interference will inevitably check the progress of discovery and invention.

The supporters of Municipal Trading speak contemptuously of "private speculators." To my mind, there is a wide distinction between legitimate enterprise and anything which can correctly be called "speculation." But if speculation is the right word, then I submit that speculative investments ought not to fall within the limits of municipal duties, or to be made with ratepayers' moneys. But though not necessarily speculative, the development of new industries and the purchase of patents are attended with many risks. Trustees are very properly precluded from any such investments, and local authorities, being essentially, though not perhaps technically, trustees for the ratepayers, ought not to embark on enterprises which necessarily involve considerable risk of loss.

There are two ways in which we may bring the subject to the test: (1) by general considerations; and (2) by figures and statistics. The whole subject is so complex that the former argument weighs most with me, but the figures also point very clearly to the desirability of restraining Municipal Trading within the narrowest possible limits.

Members of municipal bodies are elected on general, often on political, grounds, without any reference to these industrial undertakings; moreover, they cannot give that close personal attention to details which is absolutely necessary if business is to be carried on profitably. No doubt in time they would acquire the necessary knowledge, but in the meanwhile great mistakes might be made and great sums of money might be wasted.

These new principles are now urged in the name of progress, but they are entirely contrary to the old traditions of the Liberal party,—to the teaching of Cobden and Bright, of Mill and of Fawcett.

Of course I do not doubt that in some cases profits have been made. When a municipality has had a monopoly, and been able to charge what it likes, it is easy, of course, to show a profit on paper. I may give as an illustration a statement from Saturday's *Times*. "Mr. Robert Donald says that Manchester reduced its rates in 1900-1901 by 7d. in the pound, through Municipal Trading. This is the way it was done. The Corporation wanted a subsidy of £50,000 in relief of rates from the gas undertaking, and, as

there was no surplus, the price of gas was raised 3d. per 1000 feet in order to yield it." [1]

The return recently obtained by Sir Henry Fowler is generally quoted as showing a profit of about half per cent on the outstanding capital; of course after payment of interest on the capital borrowed. But while I do not question the accuracy of the accounts, I do doubt very much whether the full amount has been written off for rent, law expenses, salaries of the general staff, and, above all, for depreciation. The fact that those who support Municipal Trading have resisted any further enquiry into the subject shows that they dread the light. I have little doubt that examination by competent accountants would show that there has been a loss instead of a profit. Nor is it clear that allowance has in all cases been made for the rates which would have been received if the property had been in private hands. For these reasons the statements we often see of supposed profits made by municipalities seem to me absolutely untrustworthy.

That governments and municipalities should, as far as possible, abstain from entering into business was almost an axiom amongst economists when I was young. It was the opinion of Cobden and Bright, of Fawcett and John Stuart Mill. Cobden, for instance, in his great speech against governments and municipalities entering into commercial and manufacturing business said :—

"I find that you can never make the conductors

[1] *Times*, January 17, 1903.

of these establishments understand that capital they have to deal with is really money. It costs them nothing, and whether they make a profit or loss they never find their way into the gazette. Therefore, to them it is a myth—it is a reality only to the taxpayers." Since then we have had a good deal of dear bought experience, and it has quite borne out the wisdom of Mr. Cobden's views in this respect. But we are told that these great men were all "old fogies," and that we know better now.

I am confident, however, that those best qualified to judge are still of the same opinion.

Lord Alverstone, for instance, the Chairman of the Council of the Society of Arts, as the result of his great experience, expressed the opinion a short time ago that

"Whatever might be said as to the profit made out of undertakings, such as gas or tramways worked by corporations, his belief was that the burden on the ordinary ratepayer was less where no such risks were undertaken."

Mr. Balfour Browne, the leader of the Parliamentary Bar, who speaks with great authority on such a subject, has told us—"I think, in this connection, it is obvious that, while it is wise and right that municipalities should incur debts for such essential matters as sewage disposal, street improvements, and water supply, they should be prevented from entering upon speculative undertakings, in which in the case of success the gains may be great, but in which in the case of failure the loss would be deplorable . . .

"I know there is a new school which disbelieves in the efficacy of competition. We learn that, when a combination is possible, competition cannot be permanent, and many people are in favour of State regulation instead of the higgling of the market. I do not agree with them. I have seen a great deal, perhaps as much as any one, of attempts upon the part of the State to manage and regulate railways, and, after a not unprofitable experience, I pronounce these efforts to be a failure. . . . I believe that competition braces the producer to enterprise and caution, and that it is one great means of sending useless things to the scrap heap, which would, in the hands of monopoly, still be continued in use to the detriment of Society. I think fair competition is the fresh air of trade. But I do not think it is fair competition for a Corporation with the rates behind it to compete in the open market with a private individual."[1]

Moreover, I should like to ask whether it is intended to buy up every business which pays three per cent, and if not, why some and not others? Bread is necessary, as well as water and gas, and bakers make far more than three per cent.

It is claimed by the supporters of Municipal Trading that the result has been a substantial profit. Of course, when municipalities have a monopoly and can charge what they like, it is easy to make a certain profit.

[1] Speech at Mechanics' Institute, Dumfries, January 26, 1903.

The Town Clerk of Liverpool at a recent meeting said :—

"Municipalities have been encouraged and assisted by Parliament to borrow large sums of money for electric lighting undertakings, and it has always been on the understanding that there should be no competition."

Monopolies are bad; but especially Government and municipal monopolies, because they are the most difficult either to control or to abolish.

In expressing doubt whether the profit which municipalities claim to have made has any real existence, I do not for a moment suggest that there is any intentional inaccuracy in the accounts. There is, however, a general impression amongst experts that the accounts are misleading. In the first place, it is believed that a considerable amount of clerical and accountancy work, and some of the rent of the head office applicable to the various undertakings, is, in many cases, charged to the general municipal account. This work corresponds to what in a company is paid for the secretary, solicitor and accountants, and a portion of the rent, and it is obvious that a proper allowance must be made for these items before the real profit, if any, is arrived at.

In the second place, the amount allowed for depreciation seems much too small.

It may be hoped that the Parliamentary Committee now sitting will appoint some accountant to investigate the accounts from this point of view, and tell us how the balance really stands. I confess

I greatly doubt whether any balance of profit will remain.

The accounts are very difficult to follow, and in some cases are deliberately so dealt with as to show paper profits.

For instance, in one case, the London County Council in 1901[1] bought some land in and near Long Lane valued at £2875, handed it over to the Housing Committee for Workmen's Dwellings, but only charged them £1432 for it. Please observe that I am not charging either the Council or the Committees with any fraudulent intention. I will read the actual report of the Committee. They said:—"The value of the land was £2875 and the Housing Committee could afford only to pay £1432 for it. Re-housing was a statutory obligation, and ought to form part of the cost of the improvement. Under those circumstances the Improvements Committee had agreed to let the Housing Committee have the land at the reduced price of £1432, in order to remove the estimated deficiency from the Housing Account and to make it a charge upon the Improvement Account." They recommended:—"That the action of the Improvements Committee in fixing the value of the necessary land for re-housing purposes at £1432 be confirmed."

Another case reported on the same day is even more extraordinary. "The Improvements Committee further reported that the Council had acquired a site in London Fields, Hackney, for

[1] *The Times*, November 20, 1902.

re-housing about 486 persons who would be displaced by the Mare Street improvement. The value of the land was £1250, but the Housing Committee could not afford to pay anything for it; and, for reasons similar to those in the Southwark case, the Improvements Committee recommended the Council to fix the value of the land for rehousing purposes at nil."

Now, though, I say again, I do not impute any intention to deceive, it is obvious that when accounts are thus dealt with it is difficnlt to draw conclusions from them.

Take, again, the question of gas. Does the possession of gas-works by municipalities benefit the community? The facts seem to show that they do not. The circumstances of towns differ indeed, so that it is not possible to arrive at an absolute proof, but the figures are significant.

In cities where the municipality provides the gas, the charges were as follows per thousand feet in January this year:—

Birmingham	2s. 9d. to 2s. 3d., according to consumption.
Manchester	2s. 9d.
Salford	2s. 8d. and 2s. 7d., according to consumption.
Nottingham	2s. 10d. to 2s. 4d., according to consumption.
Bolton	2s. 6d.
Hull	2s. 8d.
Leicester	2s. 4d.
Bradford	2s. 3d. to 1s. 11½d., according to consumption.
Leeds	2s. 3d.

In cities supplied by companies the charges are:—

Liverpool	2s. 8d.
Bristol	2s. 3d.

York .	2s. 2d. to 1s. 11d., according to consumption.
Newcastle .	2s. 1d.
Hull .	2s. 0d.
Plymouth .	1s. 9d.
Sheffield	2s. 0d. to 1s. 8d., according to consumption.

Thus, in places supplied by companies, gas is substantially cheaper than where it is in the hands of the municipality.

So far as I can judge, Nottingham and Sheffield give a fair test. In Nottingham it is supplied by the municipality, in Sheffield by a company. Fifteen years ago the price was the same in both; in Nottingham it has gone up, and in Sheffield it has gone down, till now it is in Nottingham, on an average, about 2s. 8d. per 1000 feet, and in Sheffield only 1s. 8d.

The case, however, is not so simple as it might seem. Besides the price of gas there are several other points to be considered. All gas has not the same illuminating power. For instance, that of Manchester, I am informed by Sir George Livesey, is 19 candle-power, while that of Liverpool is 20 candle-power, and, he considers, so much more rigidly tested that the difference is equivalent not to one candle, but really to three candles. Again, most of the companies are subject to severe restrictions and testing in regard to sulphur compounds (other than sulphuretted hydrogen, which is always removed), while, on the contrary, out of over 200 corporations, very few are under any such restrictions. Where municipalities take over gas-works they almost invariably succeed in getting these provisions removed.

It is, I think, an important consideration that where the gas is supplied by companies the municipalities watch jealously, I do not say too jealously, over the quality. But where it is supplied by the municipality we have no such guarantee. On the whole, it seems to me that the sliding scale arrangement, such as we have in London, where the company must lower their dividend if they raise the price of the gas, and may raise it if they lower the price, is the best arrangement for the public.

Take again the proposed purchase of the London Water Companies. A prominent supporter of Municipal Trading has recently argued in favour of purchase because "it would mean, to begin with, a more generous supply of water at lower prices, and the community, instead of paying 10 or more per cent in perpetuity to water companies, would wipe the original capital out of existence in fifty or sixty years."

Of course, if the capital on which 10 per cent is paid could be bought *at par* it would be a very good business, but every one knows that we shall have to buy at a valuation which would give the shareholders about their present income. To talk of 10 per cent is, therefore, most misleading. Lord Landaff's Commission has been quoted as being in favour of purchase. Their report is a very curious document, but their conclusion was that, even without "the more generous supply" or the "lower prices" which have been promised, the result of purchase would be a deficit in the income "which can only be met by increasing the water charges or coming on the ratepayers."

That has always been my contention, and I have, therefore, always opposed purchase. Why we should take a course which must involve either a higher rate or a higher charge for water, I cannot see. The future, however, is always to some extent a matter of doubt. The past, however, is matter of history. In 1879 Mr. Smith was deputed to negotiate with the water companies, and he had actually arranged a price. I opposed the purchase then, as I do now. Eventually it was rejected, and what has been the result? The Water Committee of the London County Council, in 1891, went carefully into the figures, and in a report, signed by the late Lord Farrer, they say: "The aggregate of Mr. Smith's annuities to the shareholders for 1880 to 1890 would have been £9,555,719, whilst the actual profits earned by the same shareholders during that period have been £8,498,180," so that if that purchase had been carried out there would have been a loss of £1,057,539.

Look, again, at the result of the Works Committee of the London County Council. Here is an immense business, controlled by gentlemen who know very little about it. The Chairman was asked some time ago how many bricks were laid by a London County Council bricklayer in a day. He said he would inquire. When pressed again, he said the question was difficult to answer, but it was something over 300. In America the average per day is, I am informed, 2000, rising to 2700. No wonder the Works Committee often greatly exceed the estimates. But that is not all. How about the estimates

themselves? If you put your own estimates high enough, it is easy to do the work for less. Let me give you a case in point. The following letter is from Mr. R. Clutton, the great land agent. He writes:—

Dear Lord Avebury—Referring to our conversation the other day, the facts as to the estimate given by the Works Department of the London County Council for constructing vaults at Knightsbridge, in connection with the widening there, are as follows:—The estimate of the Works Department for the brickwork for these vaults was £28 per rod (on cement). The Office of Works jobbing contract for the same description of work, whether in the basement or on the top of a high building, is £19 : 2s. per rod. This, in my opinion, would make £18 per rod a very good price for vaults, but even taking the £19 : 2s. as a basis the difference is quite absurd.—Yours very truly,

RALPH CLUTTON,

9 Whitehall Place, London, December 24, 1902.

Now what has been the result of the working of the London tramways by the London County Council?

After various negotiations the tramways north of the river were leased to a company, while the Council determined itself to work those of the south. The capital value is approximately the same: £850,000 on the north, £896,000 on the south, but the mileage on the north is about 18 miles greater.

In 1900 the profits on the northern side were £39,000, and on the south £43,000, those on the south being therefore rather the larger of the two; in 1901 they were on the north £40,000, on the south £14,325; in 1902 they were on the north

still £39,000, but those on the south had fallen to £9000.

Thus the result of working, instead of leasing, the southern tramways has involved to the ratepayers a difference of over £40,000 in the year. Part of this no doubt is due to a reduction in fares, which raises the question how far it is right to use capital belonging to the whole metropolis for the benefit of a certain section of ratepayers.[1]

The working of railways by Governments is a very instructive object-lesson. In Victoria, for instance, the working of the railways by the State proved so disastrous that the Government appointed a Board

[1] As Mr. Benn has questioned, not indeed the actual figures, but the conclusion which I have drawn from them, it may be interesting to quote the following:—

"*The London Manual* for 1903 states, with regard to the electrification of the southern lines, that 'the work was commenced in April 1902,' and in the *Municipal Journal* of May 9, 1902, it is announced that a report of the Highways Committee was submitted to the London County Council on May 6, on the tender for cables for the Council's tramways between Westminster and Tooting. Before the Parliamentary Committee to consider the Thames River Steamboat Service Bill of the London County Council, on May 13, 1902, Mr. H. E. Haward, their controller, gave evidence as to the profits on the tramways in South London since the London County Council took them over in January 1899. The surplus profits for the year ended March 1900 were £51,774, the next year £14,325, the diminution being due to an increase by the Council in the rates of payment of its *employés* and the establishment of a ten-hours day, to certain reductions in fares, and increased cost of forage. In the year ended March 1902 the surplus profits fell to £9062, the decrease being due to a further rise in the cost of forage, to an increase in the rates imposed on the permanent way, and to a slight increase in the income-tax. The accounts for the year ended March 1903 were not yet published, Mr. Haward said, but he and the manager of the tramways had, in February, prepared an estimate in which they expressed the opinion that the southern system would, in that year, show a loss of £4716, due entirely to a loss of receipts, estimated at £14,000, consequent on the dislocation of traffic through the electrification of the lines. . . . In cross-examination Mr. Haward stated that the London County Council started the South London tramways with a net profit of £64,000."—*The Times*, July 14, 1903.

The loss on the southern system for the year ending March 1903 has since been stated to be £2250.

of Inquiry, which reported—"That the service is disorganised, and that political influence is noticeable throughout. It recommends the complete separation of the railways from the State, and the placing of them under a board of five trustees with a general manager. If this is done, the report states that an annual saving of £365,000 is indicated, including a general reduction in wages."[1] The loss, indeed, was in six years over £2,000,000, and the Committee reported that it was due to the employees being overpaid and over numerous. For the reasons to which I will shortly allude, no adequate reforms were made, and there is still a loss. Indeed, the working

	Northern System. Leased to a Company.	Southern System. Worked by the Council.
	Rental.	Profits.
1900 . . .	£39,000	£51,774
1901 . . .	40,151	14,325
1902 . . .	39,450	9,062
Total . .	£118,601	£75,161
	75,161	
Balance of Profit on Leased System	£43,440	

The *Electrical Review* discussed the question in a careful article (July 17), and said that the figures "conclusively prove the case put forward by Lord Avebury. . . .

"Mr. Benn explains that the diminishing figures in the south are due to the process of reconstruction for electric traction, high price of forage, etc.; but if the business had been in the hands of a private company these causes of interruption would have been the same, but the profit to the Council would not have been affected. . . .

"The falling off in earnings during reconstruction, and increased cost of working due to high price of forage, is applicable to both Council and company alike, and is no explanation.

"That the financial results may be unfavourably affected by the conditions under which the business is worked may be readily understood. If the *employés* are paid better wages for less work, and halfpenny fares established, which do not pay, it is not an argument which will commend itself to business men—although it may accord with the views of those who aim at the transfer of all trading business to labour-governed municipalities."

[1] *Times*, September 18, 1895.

of the Australasian railways generally has been unremunerative, and has resulted in a large loss to the State. For the year 1901-1902 the figures were :—

In Queensland,	a loss of	£450,000
Victoria,	„	291,000
New Zealand,	„	123,000
Tasmania,	„	116,000
South Australia,	„	74,000
New South Wales,	„	33,000
		£1,087,000
Against which is a profit in West Australia of . . .		12,000
Leaving a net loss for the year of no less than . . .		£1,075,000

I do not, however, object to Municipal Trading mainly because I believe the corporations will lose money. There are other and even stronger objections. In the first place, if municipalities are allowed to trade, the time which ought to be devoted to the real business of municipalities will be frittered away on trading and manufacturing details. In the second, very difficult labour questions will be raised. Town Councillors will have to regulate the wages of their electors. Just think of the tendency to set the wages against the votes. Our municipal governors will be placed in a difficult, if not an impossible position. Is this an imaginary danger? Look at New York. The defenders of Tammany deny that there is actual corruption, but the electors support candidates who will support them, who will multiply

posts and appoint their nominees. Must not this have a tendency to deter honest men from coming forward as candidates?

In the case of the Victorian railways, to which I have already referred, the Board of Inquiry, appointed by Government, reported in favour of various economies, which are mentioned in an instructive article in the *Economist*. But the writer says: "It is already clear that these proposals will meet with the strenuous opposition of the employees who, unlike the department itself, which is described as 'disorganised, if not demoralised,' are closely organised. The Board report in connection with this matter that there are seven associations established amongst the employees, the avowed object of the members of all being to protect their rights and privileges. Against the deadweight of the associations, including in their ranks the very men who ought to give effect to the railway policy of the country, but who take side against every attempt to reform, which may mean the curtailment of fancied rights and privileges, the Government will contend in vain, unless it has the courage to risk a general strike. The Secretary of the Association (an engine-driver), in the course of a long speech, denounced the report of the Board in unmeasured terms, calling its statements 'lies'; that a 'principal and valuable witness was a cast-off expert in another colony'; that the Board had proved 'an abomination and a shame,' and so on. All this stuff was punctuated by 'loud and prolonged cheering,' etc.; the

Speaker of the Legislative Assembly assured the audience that, 'as ever, the working classes of the colony had his full sympathy'; and 'other Members of Parliament talked ambiguously, one inciting the men to prepare for the ordeal that would be sure to come.'"[1]

So serious has the evil proved, that the Victorian Government has proposed to disenfranchise all Government employees; creating for them, as I understand, a special constituency.

Again, where are you to stop? We know the views of Socialists. If any one doubts the road on which we are entering,—the inclined plane on which we shall find that every step makes it more difficult to stop,—let me quote Mr. John Burns, M.P. In the discussion at the Society of Arts, Lord Wemyss said: "He should like to ask Mr. Burns whether it was his view that all private property, what he called the instruments of production, should be in the hands of the State or the Municipality?"—Mr. Burns replied "Yes."[2]

It is sometimes said that the line should be drawn at necessaries. But if so, to Light, Gas, Water, and Tramways, we should have to add Bread, Meat, Fire Insurance, Clothes, Salt, Vegetables, Papers, Pens, etc., etc., while many would also add Tobacco, Tea, and Beer.

I agree that in some cases the water supply should be undertaken by the Municipality, but only, I think,

[1] Victorian Railway Administration. Melbourne correspondent, *Economist*, November 9, 1895.

[2] *Journal of Society of Arts*, No. 2413, vol. xlvii. 269, 270.

if there is no private enterprise ready to undertake it on reasonable terms.

The possession of gas-works by municipalities has, I believe, in some cases checked the introduction of the electric light.

One circumstance which has encouraged municipal expenditure has been the fact that under the compounding system many persons who have votes pay no rates.

Expenditure benefits them at the expense of others. "The tenants on our estate," Sir Richard Farrant has stated in regard to Noel Park, "have hitherto paid their rent to our rent collector, and have never seen any tax collector. The consequence is that they have ceased to take any interest in public affairs. They do not care who represents them, what the rates are, or anything at all about the details of local administration." [1]

I now come to the next objection, the check to private enterprise.

Mr. Dixon Davies, in an elaborate paper read at the Society of Arts a few years ago, summed up the question that "the encroachment of municipal governors into the domain of commercial enterprise must restrict, and undoubtedly it does restrict, and repress individual enterprise." Speaking of our railways, he tells us that they have attained a pitch of convenience incomparably superior to those of France, where they were installed under Government auspices,—a state-

[1] Sir Richard Farrant, The Artisans', Labourers', and General Dwellings Company, Limited.

ment in which he will be supported, I think, by any one who has travelled in France, except, perhaps, as regards a few of the main express trains. As to the result of Government interference with railways, I might also quote the disastrous results in Russia, but as it might be said that this is due to mismanagement by Russian officials, I will take the case of India.

There was not long ago a very interesting paper read at the Society of Arts by Mr. Horace Bell, who was in the railway department of the Government of India. He was at first very much in favour of the management of railways by the Government, but the result of his experience was to convince him that "the only means of introducing a new and vigorous life into Indian railways is by inducing a free and unrestricted flow of private capital to India, and that this implies the gradual, but eventually complete, abandonment of State administration." He continues, "I have laid stress on what I should call the pernicious element of the present policy of the Government, *i.e.* the retention of the idea that the State must continue to exercise direct action in both the construction and working of railways. I have implied that this cannot coexist with really vigorous life in private enterprise, and that it is the latter to which we should look as the ultimate and sole agency for such operations." Sir Juland Danvers, who also acted for the Indian Government as regards the railways from their infancy, and speaks with perhaps unrivalled experience, in the course of the discussion expressed his opinion

"that the agency of companies was upon the whole the most satisfactory mode of carrying out railway enterprise. That seemed to be now the opinion of the Government. Railways, being commercial concerns, were better in the hands of those who could manage them on commercial principles. If the choice was between a State and a Company, the latter was, on the whole, most desirable."[1]

The results indeed have been so unsatisfactory that the Government recently selected Mr. Thomas Robertson to make a "Report on the Administration and Working of the Indian Railways." After an elaborate inquiry he came to the conclusion that the "working of the Indian railways cannot be regarded as at all satisfactory. But I attribute this more to the system than to any particular individual action on the part of the Railway or Government officers. . . . But after long and anxious consideration, the conclusion forced on me is that root-and-branch reform alone will be productive of lasting good, and that if the development of railways in India is not to be hampered, and if they are to render that full and efficient service to the country of which they are capable, they must be permitted to be worked more as commercial enterprises than they have been in the past." He points out that the average speed "is not as high as might have been expected"; that it "is so slow as seriously to interfere with the proper development of the traffic"; and that "before the rates and fares in

[1] "Recent Railway Policy in India." Horace Bell, M.Inst.C.E. *Journal of Society of Arts*, No. 2371, vol. xlvi. 537.

India can be regarded, relatively, as even equal to those in England, the former will require to be lower than the rates now charged—

> For passengers by about from 18 per cent to 40 per cent;
> For general merchandise by about from 30 per cent to 60 per cent; and
> For coal by about 40 per cent to 60 per cent."

An even more important and unfortunate result is the effect which the Government policy has had in checking the construction of railways in India.

As to the result of Government construction of railways, we have an object-lesson if we compare India, where Government interferes, and Argentina, where the Government trusts to private enterprise. The population of India is over 290,000,000, and the miles of railway 25,000, or one mile to every 12,200 people. In Argentina the population is mainly Spanish, and the country is agricultural. The Government has been in great financial troubles. Nevertheless, with a population of four millions and a half, they have over 10,000 miles of railway (mostly made with English capital), or a mile to every 470 persons. If India had the same mileage of railways in proportion to population, she would have not 25,000 miles of railway, but 640,000 miles. Now, why does English capital go to make railways in a foreign country, and not to India, a part of our Empire? Because, as the Government interfere, others are deterred from entering the field. They naturally say, if any line is proposed by private enterprise, that, if it was likely

to pay, the Government would make it. I cannot doubt that the policy of successive Governments in this respect has had a serious and unfortunate effect on the prosperity of India.

Again, we often hear complaints that our telephone system is backward. Why is this? The *Times*, in an interesting article, long ago pointed out that—"The action of the Post Office has been so directed as to throw every possible difficulty in the way of the development of the telephone and of its constant employment by the public. We say, advisedly, 'every possible difficulty,' because the regulations under which licences have been granted to the telephone companies are, in many respects, as completely prohibitory as an absolute refusal of them. . . . It appears that the telephones can only be used under restrictions which are as absurd as they are vexatious." And further on it says: "The conduct of the office, although not legally dishonest, is, at least, morally indefensible. There can be no just ground for a claim to possess the telephone by virtue of words introduced into an Act of Parliament before the telephone was thought of; and the effects of this claim are nearly as disastrous to the public as to the inventors and owners of the instruments."[1] . . .

The Telephone Company has only been allowed to use the patents it purchased on condition of paying to the Government 10 per cent—not of the profits but of the gross receipts. The licence, moreover, only extends to about 1919. I say about, because it

[1] *Times*, June 13, 1884.

varies somewhat in different places. Now where would have been our railway system if railways had been treated in the same way?—if concessions had been refused, except for a very limited number of years, and 10 per cent. of the gross receipts had had to be handed over to the Government?

Those connected with the electrical industry complain bitterly of the manner in which the development of electricity is being hampered, and in some respects almost strangled. For instance, it is of course most important for manufacturers to obtain power as cheaply as possible. For this purpose they have combined in several places to form companies for the supply of electrical energy on a large scale, and, I regret to say, have met with determined opposition in more than one case from municipal officials.

A large number of towns have applied for Provisional Orders for electric lighting, and it is difficult to resist the conclusion that, in many cases, they have done so merely to prevent private enterprise from occupying the field. Mr. Madgen, in an interesting paper read before the Institution of Electrical Engineers, has called attention to the remarkable fact that "Under a Provisional Order the time within which a supply should be available is two years from the date of the Order, but of the 212 towns referred to a large proportion have exceeded that period, some of the dates tailing back so far as 1891, 1892, and 1893."[1]

[1] *The Electrical Power Bills of* 1900, by Wm. L. Madgen, M.I.E.E. Institution of Electrical Engineers, February 21, 1900, p. 9.

The question has often been discussed whether animals have any vestige of reason, and strong reasons to the contrary have been given. If I were an ant instead of a man and wished to reverse the argument, I should quote our extraordinary policy as regards the telegraph and telephone. We have lost over £10,000,000 by Government management of the telegraph. Last year the deficit was £651,000, so that if we had been presented with the system as a free gift we should still have lost heavily. It is sometimes said that this is due to the lowering of the charge from a shilling to sixpence. But the Committee appointed by the Treasury reported that it was mainly due to more expensive working.

On the other hand, the sum paid over to the Government by the Telephone Company for its licence now amounts to over £150,000 a year and is steadily increasing. Yet we do everything we can to check and discourage the company which is paying us this magnificent annuity. We are stopping the system which gives us a large and growing profit, in order to develop that which leaves us a heavy and ever-increasing loss. The Minister who was mainly responsible for this was Mr. Hanbury. Now what did Mr. Hanbury say himself? In 1899, a deputation waited on him on the subject, and here is the report of what he said: "Mr. Hanbury hardly thought the deputation had given full weight to the serious difficulties in the way of nationalisation. He doubted whether it was expedient to increase the amount of work done by the State generally. The Post Office was being over-

burdened with work in every direction, and he did not think that it was capable of taking this enormous additional burden. If the telephone service was cast upon the Post Office, it would be to the detriment of both the postal and telegraph services. Then, again, it would increase enormously the Government staff. He need only appeal to the Members of Parliament present to say whether they would like to have the weekly appeals for increase of wages from those State servants still further extended."[1] There you have his opinion. But what did he do? Exactly the reverse. He did the very thing he so clearly condemned. I fear we shall pay dearly for the course Mr. Hanbury has adopted. So far as municipal telephones are concerned, Tunbridge Wells has wisely given them up, while in Glasgow, Mr. Murray has pointed out in the *Times* of May 4, that the expenditure, which was estimated at £98,000, already amounts to £300,000, and the cost per instrument, which was estimated at £19 : 1 : 3, and on which these municipal calculations were based, has come to over £30.

As regards the telegraphs, it is sometimes said that though we have paid dearly for it, at any rate we have a more effective system. This is, of course, a matter of opinion, but I doubt it. My belief is that competition would have given us a better system. This cannot be proved, but I may give an illustration. Messrs. Cunningham and Company, of Liverpool, having important business in London, tele-

[1] *Times*, May 4, 1899.

graphed to London both direct and at the same time *viâ* New York, requesting their London friends to do the same. The answer *viâ* New York both ways, came a little sooner than that which went both ways direct.

Lastly, I should like to point out that in many cases our municipalities are defeating the very object they wish to attain. Let me take the housing of the poor question. Lord Rosebery recently went to Shoreditch to open some workmen's dwellings, erected by the borough council, and made, as he always does on such occasions, a charming and interesting speech. He complimented the Borough Council, but his speech, if carefully read, was a crushing indictment of their policy. "You have," Lord Rosebery said, "accommodated 300 families, dispossessing perhaps many more than that." The actual number of persons, it appears, who were displaced was 533, and those who were provided for was 472. This seems a curious way of "housing the poor"; dishousing would seem a more appropriate expression. It is evident that the more poor are "housed," under this system, the more would be houseless. But did the 472 who were housed belong to the same class as those who were displaced? Not at all. Lord Rosebery went on to say: "You build admirable buildings, but the inhabitants of those new dwellings are not the people you dispossessed. . . . These buildings are so superior that in some cases they are occupied by a class for whom they were not intended." That was to say, under this curious plan of housing the

poor, they turned out 533 poor people and housed 472 people, many of whom were richer and better off. That, again, can hardly be called "housing" the poor. But Lord Rosebery went on to say that "there would have been in those buildings none at all of the class for whom they were intended, if the Borough Council had not exercised a wise discrimination in refusing tenants who offered much more than the rents which you are prepared to accept." That is to say, the vestry has spent thousands of pounds of the ratepayers' money in building houses, and then has exercised a wise discrimination in letting them below their value. Surely such a system offers a wide vista of jobbery and corruption.

But even that is not all. When the London County Council proposed to adopt a similar policy, I wrote to the great companies which had housed thousands of the working classes, and asked them what would be the effect upon their operations. They said that they should erect no more dwellings if the County Council were going to do so; they should stop. My belief is that if the London County Council and the Borough Councils had not put up any buildings at all, there would be at the present moment just as many, or even more, workmen's dwellings than is actually the case. On the other hand, if what has been done by the London County Council and the Borough Councils is right, it is a mere tinkering with a vast subject. London has a population of 5,000,000, of whom a large proportion are very poor, and to house a few thousands of them

is really nothing. If it is to be done, it should be done thoroughly, and as it cost £30,000 to house 500, it is easy to see what a gigantic sum would be required to carry out such a policy. The system seems to be one that would be fraught with disastrous results. Lord Rosebery went to bless, but the effect of what he said was to condemn the policy of the Shoreditch Council. That policy, moreover, ought not to masquerade under a false name. It would be less tempting if it were called what it is—a policy, not to house, but to dishouse, the poor. Perhaps then, it would not be quite so attractive. The facts at least, I think, show that the subject requires very careful consideration, and that with the best intentions, the councils and municipalities may defeat the very object they have in view.[1]

Miss Octavia Hill, who speaks with so much authority on such a subject, in a letter to the *Times*, has pointed out that—"1. The work will be done expensively. No body like the London County Council can be an economical one. The cost must be met in one form or another. Why should we prefer to pay in rates rather than in rent? The mode of payment by rates will press heavily, being inexorable and not elastic.

"2. The London County Council, which ought to be the supervising authority, will itself be pecuniarily interested in the houses to be supervised.

"3. The electorate will be, in large measure, composed of tenants of the body to be elected.

[1] *Contemporary Review*, July 1900.

"I doubt if the duties of a landlord, or of a governing body, can be fulfilled well under these circumstances."[1]

Mr. Cunningham, the General Manager of the Central London Railway, has expressed the opinion, and I believe he is right, that—"Perhaps nothing has done so much to prevent the relief of overcrowding and congestion as the Tramways Act of 1870. Its provisions in rigidly limiting the term of the concession to twenty-one years, and practically fixing the price at which the municipality may take over the undertaking at something far below its value, have effectually checked the growth of electric systems."[2]

I regret, then, the present tendency to Municipal trading mainly on five grounds:—

Firstly, the legitimate functions and duties of our municipalities are already enough, if not indeed more than enough, to tax all their energies, and fill up all their time.

Secondly, it will involve an immense increase in municipal debt.

Thirdly, it will involve municipalities in labour disputes.

Fourthly, as there will not be the same stimulus to economy and attention, there will be a great probability, not to say certainty, that one of two things will happen: either there will be a loss, or the service will cost more.

Fifthly, it will be a serious check to progress and discovery.

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[1] *Times*, June 19, 1893.

[2] *The Electrical Power Bills of* 1900, by Wm. L. Madgen, M.I.E. Institution of Electrical Engineers, February 21, 1901, p. 6.

XII

ON EDUCATION[1]

I HAVE to thank you, which I do very cordially, for the honour you have done me in electing me your first Warden. This being the earliest of, I hope, a long succession of your meetings, I have no precedent to guide me as to the subject of an address.

I am glad, however, of an opportunity to call attention to certain aspects in the present position of the higher education of the country, with reference to which I feel considerable anxiety.

Among the discoveries of the last century, the importance of education is certainly not one of the least, but it may well be doubted whether we have yet adopted the best system.

The subject is one to which I have given much careful thought, having served on three Royal Commissions,—on the Public School Commission of 1868, on the late Duke of Devonshire's Commission on scientific instruction of 1874, and Lord Cross's Education Commission,—having been nearly forty years a member of the Senate of the University of London,

[1] An Address delivered as Warden of the Guild of Undergraduates of the University of Birmingham, May 22, 1903.

eight years Vice-Chancellor, and twenty years their representative in Parliament. I have the more reason for taking the opportunity you have so kindly given me, because though so much has been done I am gravely anxious about the present state of education.

The system adopted is all the more important because it is so much more thoroughly carried out. When I was at a public school we were much more left to ourselves. We had plenty of spare time. Idle boys were idle indeed; but those who wished to work could do so, and those who had special tastes could follow them up in leisure hours. Now, we might almost say, there are no leisure hours. Masters and head-masters are thoroughly in earnest; they throw themselves into their important duties with an energy and devotion for which we cannot be too grateful. In many respects our schools are all that can be desired. The general tone is excellent, the moral training is admirable, the boys are worked but not overworked, and a judicious amount of time is devoted to fresh-air and exercise. But the very fact that the system is so thorough and so energetically carried out renders it all the more important that it should be complete.

Perhaps the country where education is most honoured, where most time is given to it, and where honours and rewards, offices and appointments are most dependent upon the result of study, is the great empire of China.

On the other hand, it will be also admitted that the stagnation of that great empire, and the backward

condition of that clever and cultivated people, is greatly due to the fact that the Chinese idea of education consists of a knowledge of the Chinese classics, and does not include any study of foreign languages, or any knowledge of the world in which we live.

Are we not ourselves making a somewhat similar mistake, especially in the case of higher education?

I do not attempt now to lay before you a scientific classification of secular subjects, but, speaking roughly, we may mention classics, mathematics, science, modern languages, history, and geography as all very important and even necessary.

We cannot but ask ourselves, do they all receive sufficient attention? What has been the history of education in this country? When public schools were first established natural science could hardly be said to exist. Schools and Grammar Schools were almost synonymous. Latin was the great medium of inter-communication between scholars, and boys were taught to speak Latin, which alas! is no longer the case.

What should be our object in education?

"I call a complete and generous education," said Milton, "that which fits a man to perform justly, skilfully, and magnanimously all the offices, both private and public, of peace and war."[1]

"That man," said Huxley—

> That man, I think, has had a liberal education who has been so trained in youth that his body is the ready servant of his will, and does with ease and pleasure all the work that, as a

[1] *The Use of Life*, p. 101.

mechanism, it is capable of; whose intellect is a clear, cold, logic engine, with all its parts of equal strength and in smooth working order; ready, like a steam engine, to be turned to any kind of work, and spin the gossamers as well as forge the anchors of the mind; whose mind is stored with a knowledge of the great and fundamental truths of nature and the laws of her operations; one who, no stunted ascetic, is full of life and fire, but whose passions are trained to come to heel by a vigorous will, the servant of a tender conscience; who has learned to love all beauty, whether of nature or of art, to hate all vileness, and to respect others as himself.[1]

Huxley's view was, that

Education should enable an average boy of fifteen or sixteen to read and write his own language with ease and accuracy, and with a sense of literary excellence derived from the study of our classic writers; to have a general acquaintance with the history of his own country and with the great laws of social existence; to have acquired the rudiments of the physical and psychological sciences, and a fair knowledge of elementary arithmetic and geometry. He should have obtained an acquaintance with logic rather by example than by precept; while the acquirement of the elements of music and drawing should have been pleasure rather than work.[2]

The excessive amount of time allotted to Latin and Greek has been criticised and deplored ever since the time of Milton, who, in his letter to Master Samuel Hartlib on education, tersely says: "We do amiss to spend seven or eight years merely in scraping together so much miserable Latin and Greek as might be learnt otherwise easily and delightfully in one year"; for, as he truly observes, "though a linguist should pride himself to have all the tongues that Babel cleft the world into, yet if he have not studied the solid

[1] Huxley. [2] *The Use of Life*, p. 103.

things in them as well as the words and lexicons, he were nothing so much to be esteemed a learned man as any yeoman or tradesman competently wise in his mother dialect only."

Without, however, going so far back, what has been our educational history during the last half century? There have been five Commissions specially appointed to inquire into, or to deal with, educational matters. Let us see whether the evil deplored so graphically and so long ago by Milton have been removed. The Commissions all make the same complaint, and the same suggestions.

The first of these Commissions was appointed in the year 1861 to inquire into the management of our great public schools—Eton, Winchester, Westminster, Charterhouse, St. Paul's, Merchant Taylors', Harrow, and Shrewsbury. This Commission, after a careful inquiry, expressed a strong opinion that more time should be devoted to the study of modern languages, while as regards science they reported with regret that it was "practically excluded from the education of the higher classes in England." Education, they say, is, in this respect, narrower than it was three centuries ago, whilst science has prodigiously extended her empire, has explored immense tracts, divided them into provinces, introduced into them order and method, and made them accessible to all.

This exclusion is, in our view, a plain defect, and a great practical evil.

We believe that many pass through life without useful mental employment, and without the wholesome interest of a favourite

study, for want of an early introduction to one for which they are really fit. It is not, however, for such cases only that an early introduction to natural science is desirable. It is desirable, surely, though not necessary, for all educated men.

To clergymen, and others who pass most of their lives in the country, or who, in country and town, are brought much into contact with the middle and lower classes, an elementary knowledge of the subject, early gained, has its particular uses; and we believe that its value as a means of opening the mind and disciplining the faculties is recognised by all who have taken the trouble to acquire it, whether men of business or of leisure." . . .

Again, in 1864, another Commission was appointed to inquire into the management of our endowed schools. This Commission consisted of Lord Taunton, Lord Derby, Lord Lyttelton, Sir Stafford Northcote, Dr. Hook, the Bishop of Exeter, Sir Thomas Acland, Mr. Forster, Dr. Storrar, and others. They also reported in favour of teaching French and German in our public schools, and spoke even more strongly with reference to science :—

Of the witnesses (they say) whom we examined on this point almost all who were not schoolmasters desired the adoption in schools of some branch of natural science, though as a rule they did not aim at the deposition of any existing subject; they thought natural science should have its due place, without interfering with the other studies. They judged it desirable for various reasons—as a means of cultivating the faculties of observation; as an important agent in mental discipline; as providing useful knowledge, capable of being applied to the purpose of life; and some recommended it on all these grounds.

We cannot (they continue) consider any scheme of education complete which omits a subject of such high importance.

We think it established that the study of natural science develops, better than any other studies, the observing faculties; disciplines the intellect by teaching induction as well as deduc-

tion; supplies a useful balance to the studies of language and mathematics, and provides much instruction of great value for the occupations of after-life.

Nor would it be wise, in a country whose continued prosperity so greatly depends on its ability to maintain its pre-eminence in manufactures, to neglect the application of natural science to the industrial arts, or overlook the importance of promoting the study of it, even in a special way, among its artizans.

I have quoted these opinions at length, both on account of the force and clearness with which they are expressed, and also on account of the weight which naturally attaches to the opinion of the eminent men who constituted these Commissions.

In consequence of these reports, two executive Commissions were subsequently constituted. One, consisting of Dr. Thompson, the then Archbishop of York, Lord Salisbury, Lord Coleridge, Mr. Russell Gurney, Sir John Lefevre, Mr. C. S. Parker, and myself, was appointed to deal with the seven great public schools; the other, the well known and little appreciated Endowed Schools Commission, to re-organise the endowed schools. Both these Commissions did all in their power to promote the study of modern languages and of science, thereby clearly indicating their opinion that, until now, science and modern languages have been unduly neglected in our public school system. Lastly, in the year 1874, yet another Commission, which was appointed under the presidency of the Duke of Devonshire, to inquire into the state of scientific instruction in this country, has reported that we are compelled "to record our

opinion that, though some progress has been made, . . . still no adequate effort has been made to supply the deficiency of scientific instruction pointed out by the Commissions of 1861 and 1864"; and that ". . . the present state of scientific instruction in our schools is extremely unsatisfactory.

"The omission from a liberal education of a great branch of intellectual culture is of itself a matter for serious regret; and, considering the increasing importance of science to the national interests of the country, we cannot but regard its almost total exclusion from the training of the upper and middle classes as little less than a national misfortune."

These Commissions, then, all agreed in deploring the neglect of science, and they appear to have been all unanimous. Have their recommendations been carried into effect? How science fares may be judged by the fact that one great public school, with over 900 boys, has five science masters, and another with over 500 only three. Modern languages are equally neglected.

Moreover, the same holds good even in preparatory schools.

In the special report on English schools which has recently been issued as a Blue Book by the Education Department, it is shown that in our preparatory schools modern languages and science are almost completely ignored. This is really deplorable. I am sure we none of us wish classics to be neglected, nor do we desire that special commercial subjects should be taught to boys. But we do wish them to know

some foreign language, and something of the world we live in.

The present education, or rather half education, is not the fault of the preparatory schools. They are dominated by the great public schools, and the great public schools again by the Universities. The Universities must bear the responsibility. They have indeed excellent science schools and eminent professors, but they treat the knowledge of nature as an extra—an ornamental, but not an integral part of education, not necessary for the degree. The lion's share of the prizes—exhibitions, scholarships, and fellowships—goes to classics and mathematics. Naturally, therefore, the great public schools feel that they can spare but little time for science and modern languages, and as it is neglected in the public schools it is almost ignored in preparatory schools.

A great deal of nonsense is, it seems to me, talked about the necessity of knowing things "thoroughly." In the first place, no one knows anything thoroughly. To confine the attention of children to two or three subjects is to narrow their minds, to cramp their intellect, to kill their interest, and in most cases make them detest the very thing you wish them to love.

Would you teach a child all you could about Europe, and omit Africa, Asia, and America, to say nothing of Australasia? Would that be teaching geography? Would you teach him one century, and omit the rest? Would that be history?

And in the same way, to teach one branch of science and ignore the rest is not teaching science.

Let me give the opinion of a great authority on education, the late Bishop of London, Dr. Creighton. In his *Thoughts on Education* he says :—

> In your own regulations for matriculation I am glad to see that science is included. But I am rather sorry to see that the expression is "a science," the prescribed sciences being mechanics, chemistry, and physiography. Suppose then that chemistry is taken. A man may get a degree without knowing the difference between a planet and a star, or why the moon goes through phases. At this early stage of education should not science be treated as one subject, and a general knowledge of the rudiments be required?[1]

Perhaps, however, you will say that the picture I have drawn of our schools is too dark.

Let me then read you the opinion of the same authority.

> Since 1870 we have talked about educational progress. I fear that I am not able to believe that we have made any real educational progress during that time. I am not even sure whether we have not gone back.

And again :—

> The more subjects people can study at the same time, the better they will get on with every one of them. By increasing your religious knowledge you gain a larger background, and then your other work will surely go on better.[2]

Mr. E. Lyttelton, who was recently selected by the Education Department to report on Preparatory Schools, and who speaks with such high authority, admirably sums up the situation. He tells us that "the request proffered again and again by Association of Head-masters of Preparatory Schools, that some change be made in the entrance scholarship examina-

[1] Mandell Creighton, *Thoughts on Education*, p. 21. [2] *Ibid.* p. 4.

tions, allowing due recognition of other subjects than the one for which the scholarships are now awarded, seems to have much sense in it. The head-masters take their stand on what one would imagine to be an incontrovertible principle, viz., that specialisation in the preparatory school age (*i.e.* under fourteen) is undesirable. They then point out that under present arrangements it is absolutely unavoidable, the constraining cause being the value set on classics. . . . This means that a boy barely twelve years old will discontinue all but a modicum of mathematics and other subjects, and be pressed on in Latin verses and Greek sentences and the construing of difficult classical authors, till by the time he is thirteen and a half he is able to reproduce remarkably skilful bits of translation, but is contentedly ignorant of English and other history, and has no knowledge whatever of the shape, size, and quality of the countries of the habitable globe, and, perhaps more injurious still, does not know whether the Reform Bill came before Magna Charta, or the sense of either. The result is not only that a false ideal of learning is set upon the pupils from their earliest years, but that the hurry and scurry of the preparation forbids patient, thorough, and gradual grounding, even in classics." This is surely a very serious statement.

Nobody wishes—scientific men would certainly not wish—to exclude classics. What we plead for is that science, the knowledge of the beautiful world in which we live, should not be excluded.

We may assume, say, 40 hours of study per week,

and if 8 are given to modern languages, 8 to arithmetic, 8 to science, say 2 to political geography, this would leave 14 for the classics, and if they cannot be taught in 14 hours they cannot be taught at all. As a matter of fact, we sacrifice everything to the dead languages, and yet our sons do not learn them after all. You cannot be said to learn a language if you do not learn to speak it. But our children are not taught to speak either Latin or Greek, and are made to pronounce them differently from the ancient Greeks and Romans and unlike any other nation in the world. Classics are an important part of education, no doubt, but they are not the whole. An education which excludes science is a one-sided education, and the most learned classical scholar, if he knows nothing of science, is but a half-educated person after all.

For practical life, moreover, I am not sure that it is not the wrong half!

The President of the Royal Society in his last annual address spoke very strongly as to the deplorable effect of the present system on the progress of scientific discovery.[1]

The Reports from which I have quoted were drawn up by the most eminent statesmen and educational authorities, and, as we have seen, their recommendations were most emphatic, and all of the same tenor.

The opinion of practical men of business is shown

[1] The Council of the Society has recently unanimously passed the following resolution :—"That the Universities be respectfully urged to consider the desirability of taking such steps in respect to their Regulations as will, so far as possible, ensure that a knowledge of science is recognised in schools and elsewhere as an essential part of general education.

by the following resolution which has recently been adopted, on the motion of the London Chamber of Commerce, by the Associated Chambers :—

> That this Association greatly regrets the deplorable neglect of modern languages and science in our great public schools, and that a memorial be addressed to the Lord President of the Council urging him to take such steps as may be necessary to give effect in this respect to the wise regulations and statutes made by the Royal Commission on Public Schools, which was presided over by the late Archbishop of York, and of which the late Prime Minister was himself a member.

One result of our present system is that English firms are compelled to employ foreign clerks.

A facetious young German employed by a mercantile firm in London is reported to have written home to his family :—

> You will be sorry to hear that there are still some Englishmen employed in our office.

This, of course, is not to be taken seriously, but it is very serious that English firms should be compelled to employ foreigners because our schools so sadly neglect the study of foreign languages.

How many parents are there who find a difficulty in providing for their sons! The young men themselves are strong and healthy, intelligent, and well-conducted, having passed through our best schools with credit and care, and being most anxious to earn an honest livelihood for themselves. Under these circumstances the father applies perhaps to some friend who is engaged in business, and asks him to find a clerkship for his son. The young man would

have no objection to go abroad; but then comes the question, What are his qualifications? There are railways all over the world owned by English companies, but the young man has not the slightest knowledge of physics, and can speak no foreign language. There are gas companies, mines, and manufactures, but he is totally ignorant of chemistry. There are banks and mercantile establishments, but he probably knows no foreign language, excepting perhaps a few words of French. English companies would naturally prefer to employ Englishmen, but in too many cases they find it impossible under the circumstances to do so.

This, therefore, is really a parent's question, and I would urge parents to move in the matter. The present state of things really involves a great national loss. It is a serious misfortune to those who have moderate means and large families. I fear that I may seem to be pressing this unduly. Yet I can truly say that I would not have done so were I expressing my own opinion only. But when we find Royal Commission after Commission, after careful and patient enquiry, one after the other, and always with unanimity, pointing to the neglect of science and of modern languages in our educational system as a grave evil,—when we find these views enforced and emphasied by the Chamber of Commerce and the leaders of science,—it must surely be worth while to enquire whether these warnings have been taken to heart, and how far these recommendations have been complied with; for our system of education cannot be satisfactory while Nature is shut out of the school-

room, and while we leave our children to grow up so entirely ignorant of the world in which they live.

The Science Commissioners did not, I think, exaggerate the evil when they stated that in their opinion the almost total exclusion of science, to which I would add the neglect of modern languages, in so many of our schools is "little less than a national misfortune."

That is the misfortune from the parent's point of view. But when we come to look at it from the manufacturing and commercial side the matter is equally serious.

We have millions of capital invested abroad in railways, mines, and other undertakings, but what is the use of sending out managers or agents who do not understand the language?

Our manufactures are cheap and good, but it is no use for manufacturers or merchants to send representatives abroad if the only language which they have learnt besides their own is Latin, which moreover they cannot speak!

I would therefore more strongly urge on the heads of our great educational institutions that specialisation in education at too early an age is a mistake. Every one should know the elements of mathematics, of physics, of astronomy, of geography, enough natural history to make the country interesting, and something about our own bodies, especially the simple rules of health. It is astonishing how little many people know about the world in which we live.

Surely it is most important that the general educa-

tion of the country should lay a sound and broad foundation on which special instruction can afterwards be built up.

A young relative of mine, who had passed with credit through a great public school, was sent to study engineering, and was asked to define a theodolite. A theodolite, he said, is a hater of God.

From the point of view of Chambers of Commerce the knowledge of modern languages is one of the most, if not the most, important branch of technical education. From an educational point of view languages and physical science stand on very different footing. Every one should be grounded in science generally before taking up any branch specially. But in language it is quite different. It is important to know one or two well; to take up many would be a serious mistake. There are, however, many languages which are of great importance, but which can never become an integral part of general education—such as Russian, Spanish, Arabic, Hindustani, Chinese, Japanese.

It would, however, be most important to us as a nation that every year, say, some fifty students should be turned out well trained in one or other of these languages. They would readily find employment, and would be most useful.

In Germany this is being done.

During the first five years of the School for Oriental Languages in the University of Berlin, from October 1887 to 1892, the number of students who passed through was 853, divided as follows:—

In Chinese	202
Japanese	127
Hindustani	31
Arabic	222
Persian	27
Turkish	135
Suahili	109
	853

I doubt not that for all these young men places will easily be found, and that they will be useful pioneers of German influence and German commerce.

Before any attempt is made to specialise, a boy should, I think, have, and might have, the power of speaking and writing English accurately, a fair knowledge of arithmetic and of mathematics up to quadratic equations, Latin enough to read Virgil and Horace with ease, some Greek and one modern language, a general acquaintance with history, especially that of his own country, a good foundation in science, especially geography, geology, astronomy, chemistry, and physics, some power of drawing, which is almost as important as writing, and a knowledge of the elements of music.

You will say, perhaps, that this is rather a long list, and yet what subject could you omit? Of course, in every subject you could not go far, but you might know the rudiments—you might have, not a smattering, which is useless, but a good foundation, which is most important.

Much of this you must teach yourselves. "Every one," said Gibbon, "has two educations—one which

he receives from others, and one, more important, which he gives himself."

I have not mentioned natural history, but this boys will pick up for themselves, if they are only encouraged to do so. Many of you must have felt with John Hunter, the great anatomist, and could say that "as a boy I wanted to know about the clouds and the grasses, and why the leaves changed colour in the autumn. I watched the ants, bees, birds, tadpoles, and caddis-worms. I pestered people with questions about what nobody knew or cared anything about."

We are sometimes told indeed that Latin grammar is pre-eminent as a training for the mind. In some cases, however, I think it has deadened the mind. A great admiral once said that it filled the navy! At any rate I claim for science at least an equal rank and place with grammar as an intellectual stimulus. But I do not desire to pit one branch of education against another.

"When I look back," says Sir J. Fitch, "on my own life, and think on the long-past school and college days, I know well that there is not a fact in history, not a formula in mathematics, not a rule in grammar, not a sweet and pleasant verse of poetry, not a truth in science which I ever learned, which has not come to me over and over again in the most unexpected ways, and proved to be of greater use than I could ever have believed. It has helped me to understand better the books I read, the history of events which are occurring round me, and

to make the whole outlook of life larger and more interesting."

We must so adapt our education that what we learn from books does not prevent us learning from Nature.

Science, moreover, stimulates the imagination, in which, perhaps, we English are just a little deficient. Tyndall used to dwell much on the scientific use of the imagination.

Moreover, in addition to its value as a training to the mind, science is not only of great, but almost of paramount importance to us as a nation.

I must not, however, confine my remarks to our system as a system. You will perhaps wish me before I sit down to give you individually some hints derived from the experience of a long life.

The true method of self-education, says John Stuart Mill, is "to question all things: never to turn away from any difficulty; to accept no doctrine either from ourselves or from other people without a rigid scrutiny by negative criticism; letting no fallacy, or incoherence, or confusion of thought, step by unperceived; above all, to insist upon having the meaning of a word clearly understood before using it, and the meaning of a proposition before assenting to it. These are the lessons we learn." And these lessons we might all learn.

Pray do not suppose that, in advocating a wider and broader education, I wish to curtail or undervalue the time given to fresh air, exercise, and recreation. Epictetus said that he was a spirit dragging about a corpse. I do not wish any of you to drag about a

corpse. On the contrary, I wish you strong and healthy bodies, carrying your minds and learning lightly.

Dr. Radcliffe is said to have told William III. that he would not have his Majesty's two legs for his Majesty's three kingdoms.

Some people, no doubt, are born with a bad constitution—with the seeds of diseases for which they are not responsible. But it is probably not an exaggeration to say that for nine-tenths of what we suffer we are ourselves responsible.

Mr. Taylor in his work on golf tells us that

> To maintain anything approaching his best form, a golfer must of necessity live a clean, wholesome, and sober life. . . . A man must live plainly, but well, and he must be careful of himself. If he uses up the reserve force, or abuses himself in any way, then he has cast his opportunities aside, and he drops immediately out of the game. There are no half measures. You must do one of two things: be careful of yourself in everything, or forsake the game altogether. A man who lives a careless or a vicious life can never succeed in golf, or hope to keep his nerves and his stamina.

What applies to golf is equally true of life generally.

We all know that we can make ourselves ill, but scarcely realise how much we can do to keep ourselves well. Moderation is all-important: moderation in eating as well as in drinking. The dangers of alcohol I need hardly impress on you, but those of over eating are also very common. Probably nine people out of ten eat more than they need—more than is good for them. An occasional feast matters

little; it is the continual daily overloading ourselves with food which is so injurious, so depressing. It is easy to eat too much: there is no fear of eating too little.

A light stomach, moreover, makes a light heart. High feeding means low spirits, and many people suffer as much from dyspepsia as from all other ailments put together.

As we are now situated, scarcely any time spent in the open air can be said to be wasted. Such hours will not only not be counted in life, but will actually add to it—will tend to make "your days long in the land." The Romans had an excellent proverb, "In aëre salus," and you can hardly be too much out of doors.

I do not, however, dwell on the question of health nor on other important matters—such, for instance, as the choice of friends, because I am dealing especially with education. Nor would I suggest that during your own time your reading should be all study. We hear of a new disease, "fictionitis." No doubt, too much fiction, as indeed too much of anything, is bad; but fiction in moderation is a valuable item in education. It gives us a knowledge of human nature which in real life may save us many a mistake.

In many cases, unfortunately, the error of a moment may entail suffering for life. But if you have need for caution,—if it is well, perhaps, to put in a word of warning,—I would rather dwell on the bright hopes of life, the prospects of happiness which wait those who deserve them. You have your future in your own

hands; you can make yourselves almost what you choose to be.

Man is man, and master of his fate.

Turning back for a moment to science. No doubt the progress in the last century has been simply marvellous. It has enabled us not only to weigh and measure, but even to analyse, the stars; to descend to the recesses of the earth, and the abysses of the ocean; to watch the rise of mountains and the formation of valleys; it has relieved suffering and found remedies for pain; it has enabled us to span great rivers; it has given us a guide over the trackless ocean; it has increased the speed of travel, and annihilated distance so far as communication is concerned; it has given us light; it has lengthened life, and added immensely to the interest of existence; to it we owe our knowledge of the bygone ages of the past, and the very idea of progress in the future.

Renan has described the last as a most amusing century. I should rather have described it as most interesting, full of unexpected and far-reaching discoveries and inventions;—railways and steamers, telegraphs and photography, gas, petroleum, and electric light, spectrum analysis and the Röntgen rays, the telephone and the phonograph, the liquefaction of air and even of hydrogen, the far-reaching discoveries of Darwin, the foundation of geology, the discovery of anæsthetics, constitute a galaxy of marvellous discoveries to which no other century can afford a parallel. And what is true of

material or physical science holds good with almost equal force in the realms of theory and of morals. We may almost include in it the proof of free trade and of the importance of education, the purification of religion, the abolition of the belief in witchcraft, which hung so long like a black pall over the intellect of Europe, the contributions to art and literature. It is sometimes said that science is prosaic, but geologists have shown us more wonderful things in the depths of the earth than Homer or Virgil ever imagined, and the modern views of the origin of volcanoes have revealed to us much more marvellous conceptions than the mere workshop of Vulcan.

And we cannot but ask ourselves whether the century which is now commencing is likely to endow us with results as far-reaching. The late Lord Derby —certainly one of our wisest statesmen—thought that this could not be hoped; but though I differ from so great an authority with much hesitation, still I cannot help thinking that there are strong reasons for looking forward to the future with hope. If, indeed, the world was fairly well known to us,—if our knowledge bore any considerable proportion to what we do not know but have still to learn,—the case would be very different. But what we know is an absolutely infinitesimal fraction of what we do not know. There is no single substance in Nature the uses and the properties of which are yet completely known to us. There is no animal or plant the whole life-history of which we have yet unravelled. We are surrounded by forces and influences of which we

understand nothing, and which we are as yet but dimly commencing to perceive. We live in a world of mystery, which we darken rather than explain by the use of a number of terms which we can neither define nor explain. Then, amongst others, there are three special reasons which seem fully to justify the hopes which inspire me. In the first place, the continual improvements in our instruments and apparatus, and the invention of new instruments of research; secondly, the increased number of workers, though we may still say that the harvest truly is plenteous, but the labourers are few; and thirdly, that as the sunshine of discovery bursts through the clouds of ignorance, as the bright light of science pierces through the mist and mystery which surround us, with the continually increasing circle of light, so the possibilities of future progress are continually increasing. Every discovery which is made suggests fresh lines of inquiry, opens the door and paves the way to still more marvellous and unexpected triumphs. You, gentlemen, are now commencing your career under eminent teachers, and you have great advantages and opportunities; most sincerely do I hope and indeed believe that in the triumphal progress of science which I foresee,—which you, I hope, will see,—many of you, whom I have the honour of addressing to-day, may take an honourable and distinguished part.

XIII

THE STUDY OF NATURE[1]

The subject on which I have been asked to address you is "The Study of Nature." This appears to imply that Nature is worth studying. It would indeed almost have seemed as if this was a self-evident proposition. We live in a wonderful and beautiful world, full of interest, and one which it is most important to understand, and dangerous, if not fatal, to misunderstand. Yet until lately our elementary schools were practically confined to reading, writing, and arithmetic; our grammar schools mainly, as the very name denotes, to grammar; while our great public schools even now omit the study of Nature altogether, or devote to it only an hour or two in the week, snatched from the insatiable demands of Latin and Greek. The result is, in many cases, the most curious ignorance of common things. The state of our elementary schools will be considered to-morrow, and I will therefore address myself on the present occasion to secondary schools.

We have all met persons who have taken a uni-

[1] A discourse given at the Nature Study Exhibition in London, 1902.

versity degree, and yet do not understand why the moon appears to change its form, who think that corals are insects, whales fish, and bats birds, who do not realise that England has been over and over again below the sea, and still believe that the world is not more than 6000 years old.

Two great faults in our present system of education are that it is too narrow, and not sufficiently interesting. We cannot all care about grammar, or even about mathematics. Those who love natural science, for instance, find little at school which appeals to them, and even those with literary tastes are surfeited by the monotony of classics; so that comparatively few keep up their studies after leaving school. Thus our system of education too often defeats its own object, and renders odious the very things we wish to make delightful.

Children are inspired with the divine gift of curiosity—sometimes inconveniently so. They ask more questions than the wisest man can answer, and want to know the why and the wherefore of everything. Their minds are bright, eager, and thirsting for knowledge. We send them to school, and what is too often the result? their intellect is dulled, and their interest is crushed out; they may have learnt much, but they have too often lost what is far more important—the wish to learn.

No doubt both Oxford and Cambridge have admirable science schools. A man can study there with many advantages, and under excellent teachers. But the prizes and fellowships are still given mainly

to classics and mathematics. Moreover, natural science is not yet regarded as a necessary part of education. Degrees are given without requiring any knowledge of the world in which we live. Our universities give excellent teaching: they prepare learned specialists, but are places of instruction rather than of education. The most profound classical scholar, if he knows nothing of science, is but a half-educated man after all—a boy in a good elementary school has had a better education. The responsibility rests, as it seems to me, mainly with the universities. The public schools tell us that they must conform to the requirements of the universities, the preparatory schools are governed by the public schools, and hence the tendency is to specialise the education of boys from the very beginning of school life. These are no peculiar views of mine. They have been reiterated by students of education, from Ascham and Milton to Huxley, and they have been urged by one Royal Commission after another.

University authorities seem to consider that the elements of science are in themselves useless. This view appears to depend on a mistaken analogy with language. It is no use to know a little of a number of languages, however well taught, unless indeed one is going into the countries where they are spoken. But it is important to know the rudiments of all sciences, and it is in reality impossible to go far in any one without knowing something of several others. So far as children are concerned, it is a mistake to think of astronomy and physics, geology

and biology, as so many separate subjects. For the child, nature is one subject, and the first thing is to lay a broad foundation. We should, as Lord Brougham said, teach our children something of everything, and then, as far as possible, everything of something. Specialisation should not begin before seventeen, or at any rate sixteen.

Every one would admit that it is a poor thing to be a great ichthyologist or botanist unless a man has some general knowledge of the world he lives in, and the same applies to a mathematician or a classical scholar. Before a child is carried far in any one subject, it should at least be explained to him that our earth is one of several planets, revolving round the sun; that the sun is a star; that the solar system is one of many millions occupying the infinite depths of space; he should be taught the general distribution of land and sea, the continents and oceans, the position of England, and of his own parish; the elements of physics, including the use and construction of the thermometer and barometer; the elements of geology and biology. *Pari passu* with these should be taken arithmetic, some knowledge of language, drawing, which is almost, if not quite, as important as writing, and perhaps music. When a child has thus acquired some general conception of the world in which we live, it will be time to begin specialising and concentrating his attention on a few subjects.

I submit, then, that some study of Nature is an essential part of a complete education; that just as

any higher education without mathematics and classics would be incomplete, so without some knowledge of the world we live in, it is also one-sided and unsatisfactory—a half education only.

In the study of natural history, again, we should proceed from the general to the particular. Commence with the characteristics in which animals and plants agree, their general structure, and the necessities of existence. Animals, again, agree together on some points, as regards which they differ from plants.

A general idea should then be given of the principal divisions of the animal and vegetable kingdoms. In many respects, though animals are perhaps more interesting, plants present greater facilities for study. They are easier to find, to handle, and to examine. Specimens of the principal divisions can be more readily obtained and studied; the structure also can be more pleasantly demonstrated. Almost all children are born with a love of natural history and of collecting.

Far be it from me to underrate the pleasure and interest of collecting. Such a collection as the present is most useful. Indeed collections are in many branches of nature-knowledge almost a necessary preliminary to study. But a collection is a means to an end, not an end in itself. It is like a library, necessary for study, but useless unless studied,—unless the books are read. Moreover, we have all access to the great National Museum. Still, private collections are in many ways useful, but not of course unless they are used. Moreover, if I confine

my remarks to natural history, plants lose half their interest when they are gathered, animals when they are killed.

In the streets and toyshops many ingenious puzzles are sold in which children, and even grown-up people, seem to find great interest and amusement. What are they to the puzzles and problems which Nature offers us without charging even a penny? These are innumerable.

Take geography and biology alone :—

Why are there mountains in Wales and the Lake district?

What determined the course of the Thames?

Why are the Cotswolds steep on the north-west and with a gentle slope on the north-east?

What are the relations between the North and South Downs?

How did the Thames cut the Goring Gap, and the Medway that through the Chalk ridge?

What is the age of the English Channel?

Why are so many of our Midland meadows thrown into ridges and furrows?

Why is Scotland intersected by lines at right angles?

Why are some Scotch lochs so deep?

Why have beeches triangular seeds and sycamores spherical seeds?

Why are beech leaves oval and pointed, and sycamore leaves palmate?

Why are beech leaves entire and oak leaves cut into rounded bays?

Why has the Spanish chestnut long, sword-shaped leaves?

Why have some willows broad leaves, and others narrow leaves?

Why do some flowers sleep by day and others by night?

Why do flowers sleep at all?

Why have so many flowers five petals, and why are so many tubular?

Why are white and light-yellow flowers so generally sweet scented?

Why are tigers striped, leopards spotted, lions brown, sheep grey, and so many caterpillars green?

Why are some caterpillars so brightly coloured?

Why are fish dark above and pale below?

Why do soles have both eyes on one side?

Why are gulls' eggs more or less pointed and owls' eggs round?

Nature suggests thousands of similar enquiries to those who have eyes to see. Some few we can answer, but the vast majority still remain unexplained.

May I indicate a few subjects of enquiry, confining my suggestions to points which require no elaborate instruments, no appreciable expenditure?

Many people keep pets, but how few study them? Descartes regarded all animals as unconscious automata; Huxley thought the matter doubtful; my own experiments and observations have led me to the conclusion that they have glimmerings of reason, but the subject is still obscure. I have often been told that dogs are as intelligent as human beings, but when I have asked whether any dogs yet realised that 2 and 2 make 4, the answer is doubtful. The whole question of the consciousness and intelligence of animals requires careful study.

Take again the life-history of animals. There is scarcely one which is fully known to us. Really I might say not one, for some of the most interesting discoveries of recent years have been made in respect to some of our commonest animals.

Coming now to plants. Any one who has given a thought to the subject will admit how many problems are opened up by flowers. But leaves and seeds are almost equally interesting. There is a reason for everything in this world, and there must be some cause for the different forms of leaves. In Ruskin's vivid words, " they take all kinds of strange shapes, as if to invite us to examine them. Star-shaped, heart-shaped, spear-shaped, arrow-shaped, fretted, fringed, cleft, furrowed, serrated, sinuated, in whorls, in tufts, in spires, in wreaths, endlessly expressive, deceptive, fantastic, never the same from foot-stalk to blossom, they seem perpetually to tempt our watchfulness and take delight in outstepping our wonder."

Some of these indeed have been explained, but for the differences in the leaves of ferns, for instance, seaweeds, and many others, no satisfactory suggestion, so far as I know, has yet been offered.

Look again at fruits and seeds, what beauty both of form and colour, and what infinite variety! Even in nearly allied species, in our common wild geraniums, veronicas, forget-me-nots, etc., no two species have seeds which are identical in size, form, or texture of surface. In fact, the problems which every field and wood, every common and hedgerow, every pond and stream, offer us are endless and most interesting.

But the scientific and intellectual interests are only a part of the charm of Nature.

The æsthetic advantages are inestimable. How much our life owes to the beauty of flowers!

Flowers, says Ruskin, "seem intended for the solace of ordinary humanity. Children love them; quiet, tender, contented, ordinary people love them as they grow; luxurious and disorderly people rejoice in them gathered. They are the cottager's treasure, and in the crowded town mark, as with a little broken fragment of rainbow, the windows of the workers in whose heart rests the covenant of peace." But in the crowded streets, or even in the formal garden, flowers always seem, to me at least, as if they were pining for the freedom of the woods and fields, where they can live and grow as they list.

In times of trouble or anxiety the lover of trees will often feel with Tennyson that

> The woods were filled so full of song
> There seemed no room for sense of wrong.

I feel with Jefferies that, "by day or by night, summer or winter, beneath trees the heart feels nearer to that depth of life which the far sky means. The rest of spirit found only in beauty, ideal and pure, comes there because the distance seems within touch of thought."

The open air is not a cure for the body only, but for the mind also.

We seem to be on the threshold of great discoveries.

There is no single substance in Nature the properties of which are fully known to us. There is no animal or plant which would not well repay, I do not say merely the attention of an hour, but even the devotion of a lifetime. I often grieve to think how

much happiness our fellow-countrymen lose from their ignorance of science. Man, we know, is born to sorrow and suffering, but he is not born to be dull, and no one with any knowledge of science could ever be. If any one is ever dull it is his own fault. Every wood, every field, every garden, every stream, every pond, is full of interest for those who have eyes to see. No one would sit and drink in a public-house, if he knew how delightful it was to sit and think in a field; no one would seek excitement in gambling and betting, if he knew how much more interesting science is; that science never ruined any one, but is a sort of fairy godmother ready to shower on us all manner of good gifts if we will only let her. In mediæval fairy tales the nature spirits occasionally fell in love with some peculiarly attractive mortals, and endowed their favourites with splendid presents. But Nature will do all this, and more, for any one who loves her.

If any one, says Seneca, "gave you a few acres, you would say that you had received a benefit; can you deny that the boundless extent of the earth is a benefit? If a house were given you, bright with marble, its roof beautifully painted with colours and gilding, you would call it no small benefit. God has built for you a mansion that fears no fire or ruin . . . covered with a roof which glitters in one fashion by day, and in another by night. Whence comes the breath which you draw; the light by which you perform the actions of your life? the blood by which your life is maintained? the meat by which your hunger is appeased? . . . The true God has planted

not a few oxen, but all the herds on their pastures through the world, and furnished food to all the flocks; He has ordained the alternation of summer and winter . . . He has invented so many arts and varieties of voice, so many notes to make music. . . . We have implanted in us the seeds of all ages, of all arts; and God our Master brings forth our intellects from obscurity."

Lastly, in the troubles and sorrows of life science will do much to soothe, comfort, and console. If we contemplate the immeasurable lapse of time indicated by geology, the almost infinitely small, and quite infinitely complex and beautiful structures rendered visible by the microscope, or the depths of space revealed by the telescope, we cannot but be carried out of ourselves.

A man, said Seneca, "can hardly lift up his eyes towards the heavens without wonder and veneration to see so many millions of radiant lights, and to observe their courses and revolutions." The stars, indeed, if we study them, will not only guide us over the wide waters of the ocean, but what is even more important, light us through the dark hours which all must expect. The study of Nature indeed is not only most important from a practical and material point of view, and not only most interesting, but will also do much to lift us above the petty troubles and help us to bear the greater sorrows of life.

XIV

ADDRESS TO THE LONDON COUNTY COUNCIL SCHOLARS[1]

The following scholars were summoned to receive their certificates :—

Senior county scholars, elected in July 1901	5
Intermediate county scholars, elected in July 1901 (including commercial intermediate scholars)	100
Junior county scholars, elected in December 1900	267
Junior county scholars, elected in July 1901	324
Junior scholars in practical gardening, elected in July 1901	7
Total	703

Mr. Chairman, ladies, and gentlemen—In the few but wise and weighty words which we have just heard from the Chairman and from Mr. Sidney Webb, they have tersely but correctly laid before you what has been done of late for the higher education of this great metropolis of ours, and I am sure that I shall be expressing the general feeling of the people of

[1] At the Queen's Hall, Langham Place, London, March 21, 1902, Mr. A. M. Torrance, Chairman of the Council, in the chair. From *The London Technical Education Gazette*, April 1902.

London when I say how much we are indebted to the London County Council and to the Technical Education Board for the great work which they have done of late years for the higher education of London, —evidence of which is shown by this magnificent meeting, which could not possibly have been held in this metropolis until within the last few years.

I have accepted with pleasure the honour of being allowed to deliver the prizes this evening to those who are about to have the honour of receiving them; and I am sure that in your name I may congratulate them on now having, as Huxley well expressed it, placed their feet firmly upon the first rung of that great ladder which leads up from the primary schools to the universities of our country. I trust for many years they will look back upon those prizes with pleasure—that they will be reminded of their schools, of their schoolmasters and schoolmistresses, to whom they owe so much, and that the memory will inspire them to fresh exertions. But they will, I am sure, also realise that the prizes which I am just about to have the pleasure of presenting to them are not the real, or at least the main, benefits which they have gained by their school career. What they really have gained have been the habits of application and the funds of knowledge which they have stored up. I congratulate them on their prizes, and I congratulate them still more on their youth, health, and strength, and on the application and ability which have enabled them to carry off these prizes.

Life is, indeed, a great prize in itself; but let me ask them what are they about to do with that glorious inheritance upon which they are now entering. The ability which has enabled them to carry off these prizes is also a responsibility. It is a talent which they are bound to use, not only for themselves or for their own advantage. A distinguished writer has said that there are two classes of men in the world. Some men make trouble, and some men take trouble. Those who make trouble are unhappy in after-life, and a source of unhappiness to others, while those who take trouble are not only a source of happiness to others, but to themselves also.

You have, I dare say all of you, read the beautiful story of Nelson's signal to his fleet at the battle of Trafalgar—that "England expects every man to do his duty." Yes, and not only every man, but every boy and girl too. Perhaps you will say, We are still young—what can we do? You can do a great deal; indeed, if you are to grow up to be worthy Englishmen and Englishwomen, you must do a great deal. Some people seem to think that every boy grows up into a man. That is a great mistake. Man is man, and is master of his fate, and we are all what we make ourselves. We may make this world either a palace or a prison—either a triumphal march or a funeral procession. Many people, it has been truly said, spend much of their lives in making the rest miserable, and, in the words of Sir Thomas Browne, "buy the merry madness of a moment with the long penitence of after-years."

Some people are always grumbling. If they had been born in the Garden of Eden, they would certainly have found a great deal to complain of. Happiness depends much more upon what is within us than on what is without us. As Ruskin has well said, "To read, to think, to love, to pray,—these are the things that make a man happy." In the words of Milton—

> The mind is its own place, and in itself
> Can make a heaven of hell, a hell of heaven.

Or, as Shakespeare puts it—

> All places that the eye of heaven visits
> Are to the wise man ports and happy havens.

If you look at the world through a red glass, all seems red and rosy; if through a blue, all blue; if through a smoked one, all dull and dingy. Always try, then, to look at the bright side of things; and almost everything in the world has a bright side. There are some people whose smile, the sound of whose voice whose very presence, seem like a ray of sunshine to brighten a whole room. Greet everybody with a bright smile, kind words, and a pleasant welcome. It is not enough to love those who are near and dear to us. We must show them that we do so.

All these are things that every boy and girl may do for themselves. The great question which you will have to ask yourselves is: How can you arrange your time now that you are entering upon life so as to make it useful and happy? Well, in the first place, it is very important that you should keep yourselves in good health. We all know that we can

make ourselves ill; but I do not think we all realise how much we can do to keep ourselves well. And yet the requisites of health are plain enough—regular habits, daily exercise, personal cleanliness, simple diet, and moderation both in eating and drinking,—these will keep most people perfectly well through life. I need not, I hope, impress upon you the terrible evil of drunkenness. Honest water never made any one a sinner, but most of the sin and misery in England is due to alcohol. There is an old Jewish proverb, "Where the devil cannot go himself, he sends spirits." Moderation in eating is also of great importance.

We live in a very beautiful world; but few good things are to be had in it without hard work. It is not a world in which any one can expect to be prosperous if he is easily discouraged. Perseverance—earnest, steady perseverance—is necessary to success. This is no drawback. Good, solid work is as necessary to peace of mind as it is for the health of the body; in fact the two are inseparable.

Passing from the body to the mind, do not suppose that your education is finished when you are leaving school. As the Chairman very justly observed, it is then only just beginning and will go on through life. The question is whether you will learn what is good or whether you will learn what is bad. Try to learn something every day—something that is good and useful—and to avoid all evil like poison.

And here may I make an appeal to my old friends and colleagues of the London County Council, especially those who now occupy such important

positions, and have such large funds to administer, on behalf of the old colleges which have done so much for the higher education of London in the past. As Mr. Sidney Webb has just told us, important technical institutions have been founded throughout London, to the great advantage of this metropolis, by help of funds from the City Parochial charities and liberal endowments from several of the City Companies, and from other sources. These institutions are doing a good and noble work. But I am sorry to say that some of our older colleges, which were the first to lead in this good work,—University College, King's College, the City of London College, the Working Men's College, and several others,—are all in great need of funds, and any sums granted to them would, I am sure, be most usefully bestowed. Many of you, I hope, will carry on your education in these and similar institutions, and the further you go the more you will be repaid. When people are young they sometimes look upon their lessons as being rather a matter of duty; but the more you learn the more you will wish to know, and the more you read the more you will enjoy reading.

Lord Macaulay seemed to have almost all that this world could give—wealth and fame, rank and power, and yet he has told us that he derived his greatest happiness from books—books which are open to every one of you.

A library, indeed, is a true fairyland, a very palace of delight, a haven of refuge from the storms and troubles of the world. Rich and poor can enjoy it equally, for

here, at least, wealth gives no advantage. We may make a library, if we do but use it rightly, a true paradise on earth, a Garden of Eden, without its one drawback; for all is open to us, including, and especially, the fruit of the tree of knowledge, for which we are told that our first mother sacrificed all the pleasure of paradise. Here we may read the most important histories, the most exciting volumes of travels and adventures, the most beautiful poems; we may meet the most eminent statesmen, poets and philosophers, benefit by the ideas of the greatest thinkers, and enjoy the grandest creations of human genius.

A well known proverb teaches us, "Waste not, want not"; but above all, never waste time. There is a Turkish saying that "The devil tempts a busy man, but an idle man tempts the devil." "Keep your shop," says an old proverb, "and your shop will keep you."

But though I would earnestly press upon our young friends never to waste a minute, I hope it will not be supposed that I am suggesting to them that they should lead a life of drudgery. On the contrary, time given to the fresh air, to walks abroad in the country and to games, which do so much to improve the health, is certainly never time which is wasted.

Last, but not least, comes the all-important question of character. Some young people seem to think that they are born with a certain character which they inherit. Well, no doubt there is some amount of truth in that. But it is still more true that our character is what we choose to make it. In

the words of a great German writer, Jean Paul Richter, "What you wish to be that you will be; for such is the force of our will, joined to the Supreme, that whatever we wish to be seriously and with a true intention, that we become." But to do so you must be careful. Temptations enough will come to you in life, but do not you go to them. Be masters of yourselves. "He that ruleth his spirit," said Solomon long ago, "is better than he that taketh a city." Finally, when you have done your best, do not be anxious. Above all, never despair.

Trouble and sorrow are sometimes friends in disguise. We all enjoy the warm air and bright sunshine of summer, but nature owes much to the snows and storms of winter. As George Macdonald beautifully says—

> For things can never go badly wrong,
> If the love be true and the heart be strong;
> For the mist, if it comes, and the driving rain,
> Will be changed by love into sunshine again.

And yet there are many—especially girls, I think—who make themselves miserable on entering life by theological doubts and difficulties. But these have reference, in ninety-nine cases out of a hundred, not so much to what they should do as to what they should think. As regards action, conscience is generally a safe guide; and the great difficulty is to follow it as we ought. Be careful how you choose your thoughts. "Peace of mind," says Ruskin—and I think it is one of the most beautiful of all his beautiful passages—"Peace of mind must come in its

own time, as the waters settle themselves into clearness as well as quietness; you can no more filter your mind into purity than you can compress it into calmness; you must keep it pure, if you will have it pure, and throw no stones into it, if you would have it quiet." I am sure—and I know that my friends around me will agree—that you have now in your lives a glorious inheritance if you will only make the best of them. But you have also a great responsibility. To-night you are going to receive prizes; but let us hope that some day you, in your turn, will do honour to the schools to which you owe so much. Let us hope that many of you will add something to the sum of human knowledge. Do not suppose, however much your schoolmasters know, that they know everything. The fact is, that what we know, great as it is and wonderful as are the discoveries that have been made, is almost nothing compared with that which we still have to discover. There is not a single substance in Nature of which the whole of the properties are known to us. There is an immense field for future discoveries, many of which will certainly be of great importance; and it is very encouraging, I think, to see that discoveries in science have not been confined to men of great wealth and of great genius. On the contrary, some of the most important discoveries—some of those which have conferred the greatest blessings upon mankind—have been made by men who have had fewer advantages than you yourselves have enjoyed.

Let me give you the names of a few of these great

men, and tell you how they began life. The great naturalist Ray was the son of a blacksmith, Watt of a shipwright, Franklin of a tallow-chandler, Dalton of a hand-loom weaver, Fraunhofer of a glazier, Laplace of a farmer, Linnæus of a poor curate, Faraday of a blacksmith. George Stephenson, who did so much for our railways,—more perhaps than anybody else,—was a working collier, and worked a long while at 2d. a day, and could not read till he was eighteen years of age; Davy was an apothecary's assistant; Wheatstone was a musical instrument maker; Boulton, who has been called "the father of Birmingham," because he did so much for the development of that great city, was the son of a buttonmaker; Galileo, Kepler, Sprengel, Cuvier, Sir W. Herschel, and many others, were all children of poor parents, and had nothing like the advantages in their education that you have had. Therefore, it is only reasonable to hope that many of you may take part in the great and triumphal march of science and in the increase of human knowledge. And, in conclusion, I am sure I am expressing the feeling of this great meeting in congratulating you in their name upon the prizes that I am now to have the pleasure of presenting to you, and in expressing the hope that this fortunate commencement of your career may be the prelude to happy, successful, and, above all, useful lives.

XV

ADDRESS TO THE CHURCHMEN'S UNION[1]

I RISE to move the adoption of the Report. I must confess I had some misgivings about doing so, because I fear I cannot rank myself as an orthodox member of the Church of England, though, for reasons which I will shortly mention, I felt justified in joining the Union at its foundation.

With the spirit of the Report I cordially concur. The Union offers a platform for the free and reverent expression of opinion and conviction in the wide field of theology, and it is encouraging to find that, as the Report states, "the movement in favour of a liberal and progressive interpretation of the Christian Creed is world-wide."

Jowett once urged Stanley to give us a work on theology, reconciling the old and the new. Sir M. Grant Duff in his interesting *Out of the Past* has expressed the opinion that it is too soon. Very likely, but I wish he had tried.

One great difficulty, for instance, is the Athanasian Creed, and I am very glad to hear that in Westminster Abbey a modified version is now read. I say nothing

[1] Annual Meeting, 1903. Printed at the request of the Churchmen's Union.

about the descriptive part. It seems to me self-contradictory indeed, and in many places unintelligible, but the real repugnance we many of us feel is to the last verse.

"This is the Catholic faith, which except a man believe faithfully, he cannot be saved."

This I not only do not believe, but I disbelieve. I cannot believe that it is Christian teaching; indeed it seems to me quite contrary to the teaching of Christ.

A great many persons are deterred from coming to Church, and others who do come feel perplexed, pained, and harassed by some of the theological dogmas, and philosophical, or unphilosophical, opinions which they are expected to approve, and by what seems to them unworthy descriptions given of, and motives attributed to, the Divine Nature. I do not, however, wish to-day to assert any views of my own, but rather to indicate difficulties which many feel.

Many, no doubt, regard creeds, dogmas and miracles as the foundation and bulwarks of religion. To others they constitute, on the contrary, the great difficulty, and undoubtedly they divide us into conflicting and hostile camps.

In ancient times the improbability of miracles was not realised. Hence it is only in recent years that they have been regarded as a proof of authority. When Moses performed his miracles before Pharaoh we are told that "the magicians of Egypt also did in like manner by their enchantments."

Christ also is represented as believing that others

besides Himself, and without divine authority, could work miracles. "If I by Beelzebub cast out devils, by whom do your children cast them out?" And again: "Then shall arise false Christs and false prophets, and shall show great signs and wonders" (Matthew xxiv.). In fact we were to test the miracles by the doctrine—not the doctrine by the miracles. This is expressly enjoined in the thirteenth chapter of Deuteronomy: "If there ariseth among you a prophet, and giveth thee a sign or a wonder, and the sign or wonder cometh to pass, whereof he spoke unto thee saying, Let us go after other Gods. . . . Thou shalt not hearken . . . and that prophet shall be put to death; because he hath spoken to turn you away from the Lord your God."

In the service for the Ordering of Deacons the candidate is asked whether he unfeignedly believes all the canonical scriptures of the Old Testament. Is not the word "believe" misleading in this context? That the Old Testament is a marvellous and important work, that every one would do well to read, mark, learn, and inwardly digest it, I for one would certainly not deny. "I have been," said Huxley, "seriously perplexed to know by what practical measures the religious feeling, which is the essential basis of conduct, was to be kept up, in the present utterly chaotic state of opinion on these matters, without the use of the Bible. Take the Bible as a whole: make the severest deductions which fair criticism can dictate for shortcomings—positive errors; eliminate,

as a sensible lay teacher would do if left to himself, all that it is not desirable for children to occupy themselves with,—and there still remains in this old literature a vast residuum of moral beauty and grandeur. And then consider the great historical fact that for so many centuries this book has been woven into the life of all that is best and noblest in English history; that it has become the national epic of Britain, and is as familiar to noble and simple from John o' Groat's House to Land's End, as Dante and Tasso were once to Italians; that it is written in the noblest and purest English, and abounds in exquisite beauties of mere literary form; and finally that it forbids the veriest hind who never left his village to be ignorant of the existence of other countries and other civilisations, and of a great past, stretching back to the farthest limits of the oldest nations in the world. By the study of what other book could children be so much humanised and made to feel that each figure in that vast historical procession fills, like themselves, but a momentary space in the interval between two eternities, and earns the blessings or the curses of all time, according to its effort to do good and hate evil, even as they also are earning their payment for their work."

But it must be read remembering the circumstances under which it was written. Really to understand the Bible, and especially the Old Testament, we must read it from an eastern, not a western, point of view. The eastern mind does not look at things as we do—does not take things literally as we do. The Oriental

speaks in poetry and metaphor. He attributes directly to Divine action and inspiration much of what we should refer to human action and natural laws—at any rate, in the first instance. Moveover, he is a firm believer in evil demons, in genii, and witchcraft.

As Mr. Sully says,[1] "To the uncultivated mind a sudden thought seems like an audible announcement from without. The superstitious man talks of being led by some good or evil spirit when new ideas arise in his mind or new resolutions shape themselves. To the simple intelligence of the boor every thought presents itself as an analogue of an audible voice, and he commonly describes his rough musings as saying this and that to himself."

In reading eastern works we too often see the letter only and miss the spirit. It is often assumed that a book which is inspired must be absolutely correct; that there is a hard and fast line between a book which is inspired and one which is not inspired. Yet that is not, I believe, any authoritative doctrine of the Church of England. As the Emperor William said the other day in his interesting letter to Admiral Hollmann—

> There is to my mind not the slightest doubt that God constantly and continually reveals Himself in the human race, which is His own, and which He has created. He has "breathed His breath" into man—that is to say, He has given man a part of Himself, a soul. He follows with fatherly love and interest the development of the human race: in order to lead it and to advance it further, He "reveals" Himself now in this, now in that great sage, whether it be priest or king, whether it be

[1] J. Sully's *Illusions*, p. 194.

among heathens, Jews, or Christians. Hammurabi was one of these, and so were Moses, Abraham, Homer, Charlemagne, Luther, Shakespeare, Goethe, Kant, and the Emperor William the Great.

It is to me self-evident that the Old Testament contains a number of passages which are of the nature of purely human history, and are not "God's revealed word." There are purely historical descriptions of events of every kind which are accomplished in the political, religious, moral, and spiritual life of the people of Israel. For example, the act of the giving of the law on Mount Sinai can only symbolically be regarded as inspired by God, inasmuch as Moses was obliged to resort to the revival of laws which perhaps had long been known (possibly they originated in the codex of Hammurabi), in order to draw and bind together the structure of his people, which in its composition was loose and hardly capable of offering any resistance to outside pressure.

A still stronger illustration is perhaps the Collect for the 5th Sunday after Easter: "O Lord, from whom all good things do come; Grant to us, Thy humble servants (that is to say, each and every one of us) that by Thy holy inspiration we may think those things that be good, and by Thy merciful guiding may perform the same."

From this point of view every good thought is an inspiration, and every good man is inspired in a higher or lower degree.

We are Christians and not Jews, and yet the Old Testament is constantly quoted as if it were binding on us, and we were bound to accept every word and statement, and obey every injunction contained in it.

Every student knows, however, that the accounts, for instance, of the Deluge differ from one another;

that the records of the same events in Kings and Chronicles differ in some cases from one another; that there are many arithmetical contradictions.

Moreover, do those who think they believe that every injunction is binding on us act up to their profession?

In Leviticus it is strictly forbidden to eat the hare or pork and bacon;[1] linen and wool are not to be mixed in one garment.[2] Who regards these commands as binding on us? Perhaps it will be said that they are not applicable to us. No doubt that is so, but under the theory I am referring to, it is not for us to pick and choose.

In Exodus we are continually told that the Lord hardened "Pharaoh's heart" . . . "that I may lay my hand upon Egypt," and terrible sufferings fell indeed upon that unfortunate people.

Again, in 1 Kings xxii. we are told that the Almighty sent a lying spirit to deceive Ahab in order that he might be deceived and lured to destruction at Ramoth-Gilead.

When Ahab and Jehoshaphat were considering whether it would be wise to attack the Syrians, and what the result of the war would be, Micaiah tells them[3]:—

> And the Lord said, Who shall persuade Ahab, that he may go up and fall at Ramoth-Gilead? And one said on this manner, and another said on that manner.
>
> And there came forth a spirit, and stood before the Lord, and said, I will persuade him.

[1] xi. [2] xix. 19. [3] 1 Kings xxii. 20.

And the Lord said unto him, Wherewith? And he said, I will go forth, and I will be a lying spirit in the mouth of all his prophets. And he said, Thou shalt persuade him, and prevail also; go forth, and do so.

Now therefore, behold, the Lord hath put a lying spirit in the mouth of all these thy prophets, and the Lord hath spoken evil concerning thee.

But look a little further. Take the moral teaching of Moses, and what did Christ say? The Jews asked Him if it was lawful "for a man to put away his wife, tempting Him," and what did He say? "For the hardness of your heart he wrote you this precept; but *I* say," etc. And again He quoted Moses' law—"an eye for an eye and a tooth for a tooth." "But, I say unto you that ye resist not evil."

The injunctions of Moses, derived, as we now know, from more ancient Babylonian laws, were adapted to the circumstances of the time and the condition of the Jews, but surely the mission of Christ was to replace them by a new and higher religion.

Matthew Arnold tells us that his *Literature and Dogma* had "altogether for its object to show the truth and necessity of Christianity, and its power and charm for the heart, mind, and imagination of man, even though the preternatural, which is now its popular sanction, should have to be given up."

Another distinguished countryman of ours, Sir M. E. Grant Duff, has recently said that the more religion "draws into itself all that is best in our nature,—the more it calls to its assistance all that is sublime or tender in art, all that is most exquisite in

poetry, all that is most elevating in the contemplation of the material universe and the human microcosm, — the better will be its effect upon conduct. To ask, however, from theological speculation the same sort of certainties which we get amidst the lower order of facts with which our limited intelligence is amply sufficient to deal, is to ask from it what, in this world, it cannot give."

In any case, if the Church is to retain her hold over the thinking part of our people, she must be progressive. The Creeds and Dogmas must, as the report says, "be restated from time to time to bring them into harmony" with our reason. No doubt this is a supremely difficult task.

Every new discovery in science requires new terms for its expression, and I doubt very much whether we have in English, or indeed in any language, the words which would adequately express the real truths of the Universe. We must, I think, be satisfied on innumerable questions to suspend our judgment; but if we are still in doubt what it is right to think, we are seldom in doubt what it is right to do.

Theologians sometimes speak as if it were possible to believe something which one cannot understand— as if the belief were a matter of will; that there was some merit in believing what you cannot prove, and that if a statement of fact is put before you, you must either believe or disbelieve it. Surely, however, we should demand clear proof, or what seems to us clear proof, before we accept any conclusion on such important questions. No doubt we may often

accept a statement which we cannot explain, but surely it is misleading to say that you believe what you do not understand. In such a case the word "belief" seems an unfortunate misnomer. Surely it is wrong, and not right, to profess to believe anything for which you know that there is no sufficient evidence; and, on the other hand, if it is proved you cannot help believing it; but as regards many matters, the true position is not one either of belief or of disbelief, but of suspense.

Moreover, the great differences of opinion render it impossible to devise any church service with which, so far as theoretical opinion is concerned, all could concur. I might wish it were otherwise, but we must face the fact.

Recognising, then, the great mystery of existence,—admitting, if only for the sake of argument, the improbability that Man is the highest existence in the Universe,—it seems to me that we may join in religious sympathy, even if we differ in theological views.

It is remarkable and significant that there is no Creed and very little Dogma either in the Old or New Testament. The commandments are mainly moral. Our Creeds and Dogmas are inferences. In the Bible, religion is constantly presented as an affair of the heart and of conduct. Theology, too, often kills religion by attempting to dissect it and lay it open.

The Commandments also relate to conduct, and if it is said that the Jews in pre-Christian times were not ripe for fuller instruction, at any rate the passage in Micah is clear and complete.

For what, he says, "doth the Lord require of thee, but to do justly, and to love mercy, and to walk humbly with thy God."[1]

When Christ described the Great Day and the causes which determined the future of men, what were they? Not questions of race or creed; not whether they were Jews or Gentiles: there was no question of Dogma; it did not depend on men's religion, not on what they thought or believed, but on what they had done.

The Son of man [he said] shall come in his glory, and all the holy angels with him . . . and separate the good and evil as shepherd divideth his sheep from the goats:

And he shall set the sheep on his right hand, but the goats on the left.

Then shall the King say unto them on his right hand, Come, ye blessed of my Father, inherit the kingdom prepared for you from the foundation of the world:

For I was an hungred, and ye gave me meat: I was thirsty, and ye gave me drink: I was a stranger, and ye took me in:

Naked, and ye clothed me: I was sick, and ye visited me: I was in prison, and ye came unto me.

Then shall the righteous answer him, saying, Lord, when saw we thee an hungred, and fed thee? or thirsty, and gave thee drink?

When saw we thee a stranger, and took thee in? or naked, and clothed thee?

Or when saw we thee sick, or in prison, and came unto thee?

And the King shall answer and say unto them, Verily I say unto you, Inasmuch as ye have done it unto one of the least of these my brethren, ye have done it unto me.

I might quote other passages to the same effect.

Renan used to say "that his criticism had done more to support religion than all the apologies."

[1] Micah vi. 8.

We cannot improve, and should be careful in attempting to add to, the Sermon on the Mount.

"Theology," said Jowett, "is full of undefined terms which have distracted the human mind for ages. Mankind have reasoned from them but not to them; they have drawn out the conclusions without proving the premises; they have asserted the premises without examining the terms. The passions of religious parties have been roused to the utmost about words of which they could have given no explanation, and which had really no distinct meaning."

"Les Religions," says Renan,[1] "comme les Philosophies, sont toutes vaines; mais la Religion, pa plus que la Philosophie, n'est vaine."

To attempt to add to, or improve on, the teaching of Christ seems vain and even arrogant. The discussions of theology are intensely interesting, no doubt; they are the science, but they are not the essence of religion. Theology is a branch of science: it is not religion. It is an exercise of the mind—religion of the heart. To confuse the two seems to me a vital error and has led to terrible results. Theological Dogmas are responsible for devastating wars, for the massacre of St. Bartholomew, for the terrors of the Inquisition. The victims may or may not have been Christians—the Inquisitors certainly were not. Who can imagine that Jesus would have sanctioned any of these horrors?—horrors perpetrated in the name of religion.

Even in our own country the misuse of theology

[1] *His. du Peuple D'Israel.*

divides religion into sects—one says I am of Paul and another I am of Apollos. We remember the outcry about Bishop Colenso — which was like attacking the multiplication table; we remember the prosecution of the authors of *Essays and Reviews;* but we lived to see one of them Master of Balliol and another Archbishop of Canterbury.

Intensely interesting as it would be to know more of the constitution of the universe, we must be content to wait. I feel with St. Augustine: "Let others argue, I will wonder,"—at any rate till we have more light.

But the craving for dogmatic theology as a basis for religion exists, and we must recognise it. Now among all the Churches none seems to me to be wider, more tolerant, more progressive, more truly Catholic and Christian, than the Church of England.

"I could conceive," said Huxley, "the existence of an Established Church which should be a blessing to the community. A Church in which, week by week, services should be devoted, not to the iteration of abstract propositions in theology, but to the setting before men's minds of an ideal of true, just, and pure living; a place in which those who are weary of the burden of daily cares should find a moment's rest in the contemplation of the higher life which is possible for all, though attained by so few; a place in which the man of strife and of business should have to think how small, after all, are the rewards he covets compared with peace and charity. Depend upon it, if such a Church existed, no one would seek to disestablish it."

It seems to me that he has here very nearly described the Church of Stanley and Jowett, of Kingsley and Temple.

Apart from theology, it would be difficult, I think, to over-estimate the services rendered to the country by the Church of England—never perhaps more usefully or more devotedly than at the present time.

Alike in the seething slums of our great cities, and in the remote and isolated parishes of country districts, the presence of a cultivated family—for it would be ungrateful indeed to forget how the clergyman is generally aided by his wife, and often by his daughters—is a centre of light and warmth and sympathy. The church services and cottage visits brighten many a humble home, and give dignity, variety, and hope to lives often of monotony, suffering, and hardship.[1]

Nor would I under-estimate the services rendered by Nonconformist bodies. I sympathise, and intellectually in some respects agree, with them.

For an Englishman there is a profound distinction between the National Church and theological sects. A sect represents an opinion: the Church a duty. We must differ, but why need we separate? Within the Church itself the differences are greater than those between some of the sects and the Church. The Church is the national recognition of the great mystery of existence. Must it not be a satisfaction to meet one's countrymen in reverent recognition of that mystery,

[1] I speak here, of course, of England only, and by no means forget the similar Churches in Scotland and Ireland.

and in gratitude for the great gift of life, without allowing ourselves to be separated by metaphysical differences.

If we differ, let us at least remember that, as Milton said, "Error is but truth in the making."

It has been well said that, "Teach a child what is wise—that is morality. Teach him what is wise and beautiful—that is religion!"

I hope and believe with Ruskin that "the charities of more and more widely extended peace are preparing the way for a Church which shall depend neither on ignorance for its continuance, nor on controversy for its progress, but shall reign at once in light and love;" and that Stanley did something to carry out Jowett's suggestion to which I have already referred, when he said of Faith, Hope, and Charity, that "Faith founded the Church; Hope has sustained it. I cannot help thinking that it is reserved for Love to reform it."

THE END

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